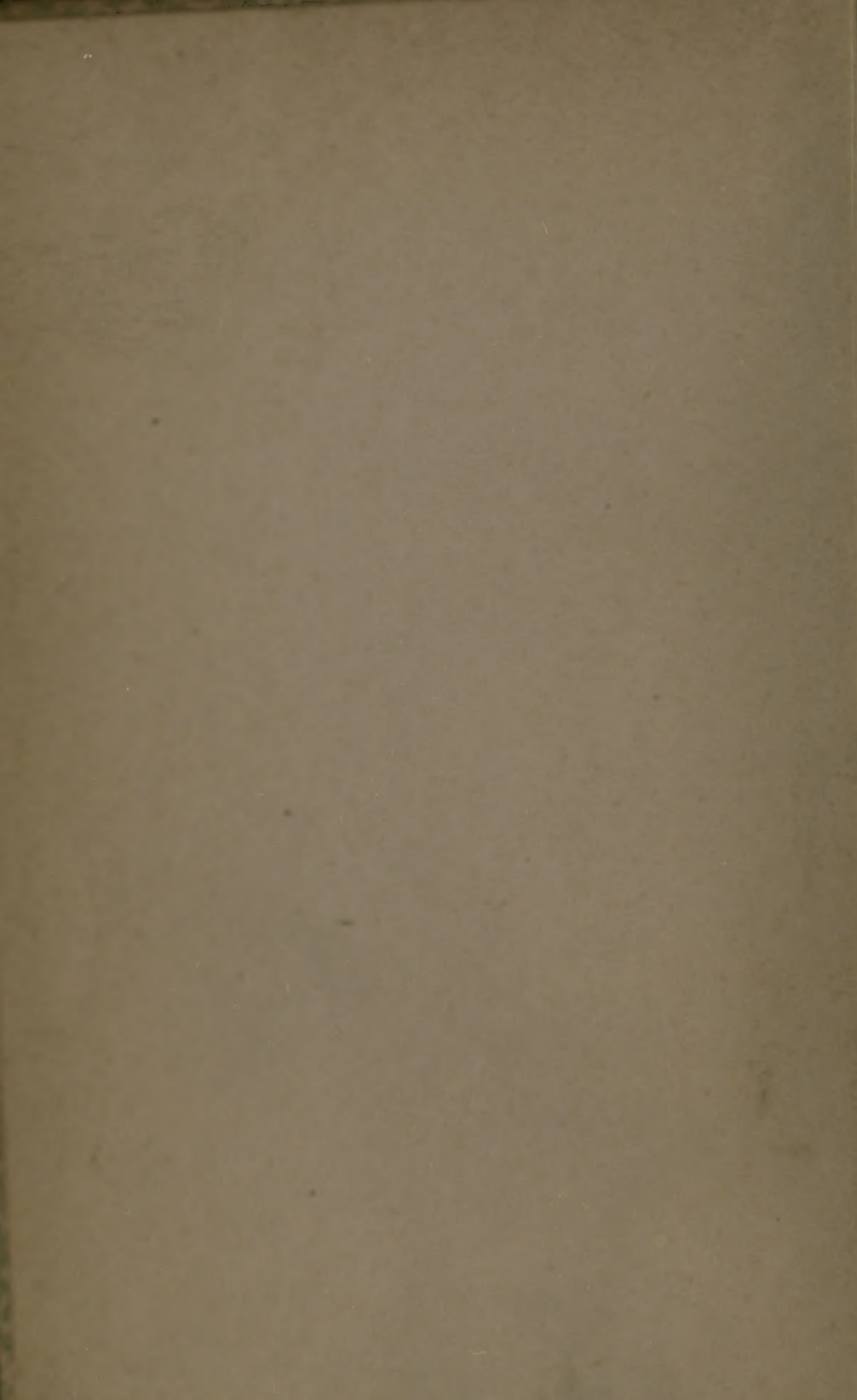


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JAMES G. BLAINE.

A STUDY OF
HIS LIFE AND CAREER

FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A PERSONAL WITNESS OF THE PRINCIPAL
EVENTS IN HIS HISTORY.

BY

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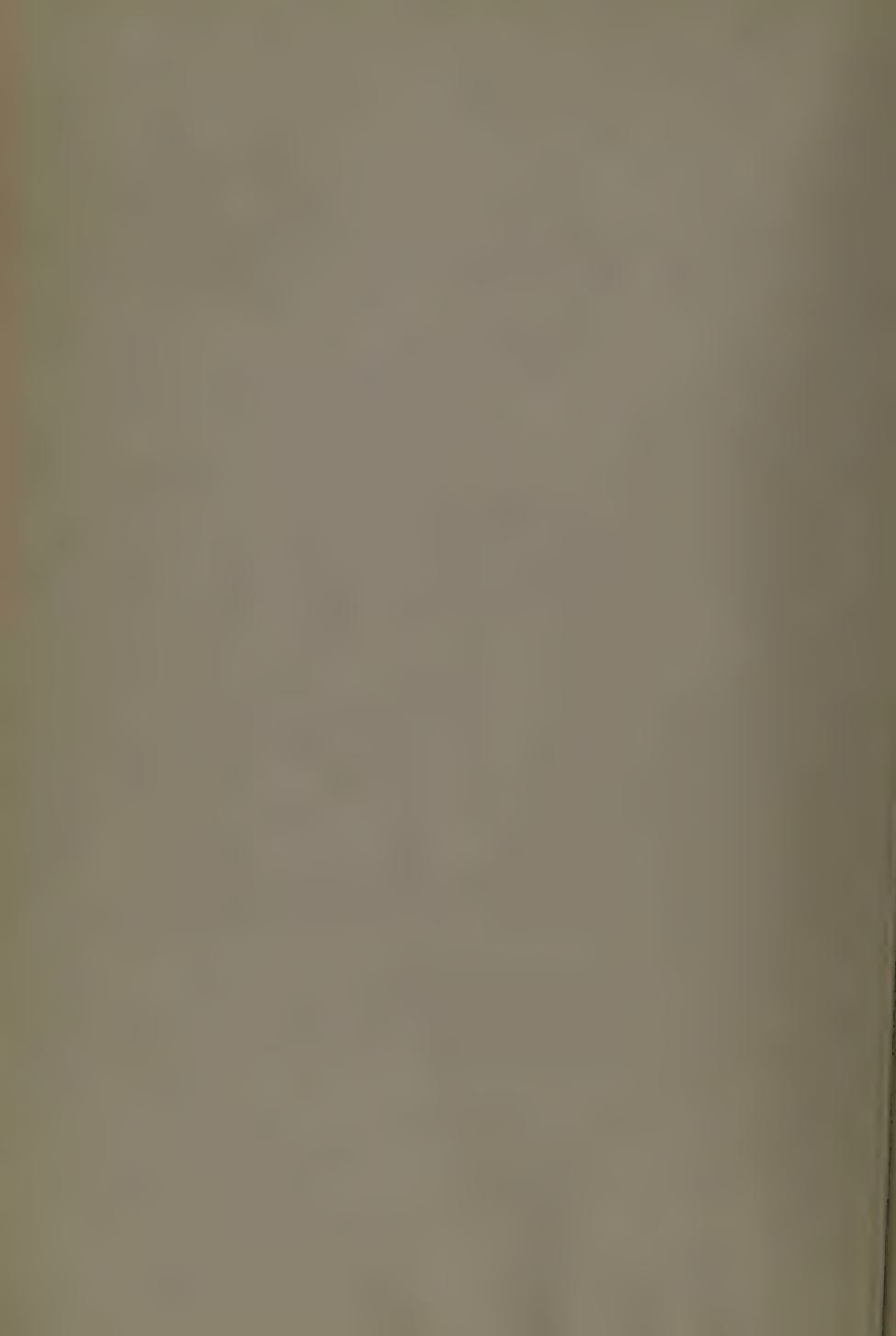
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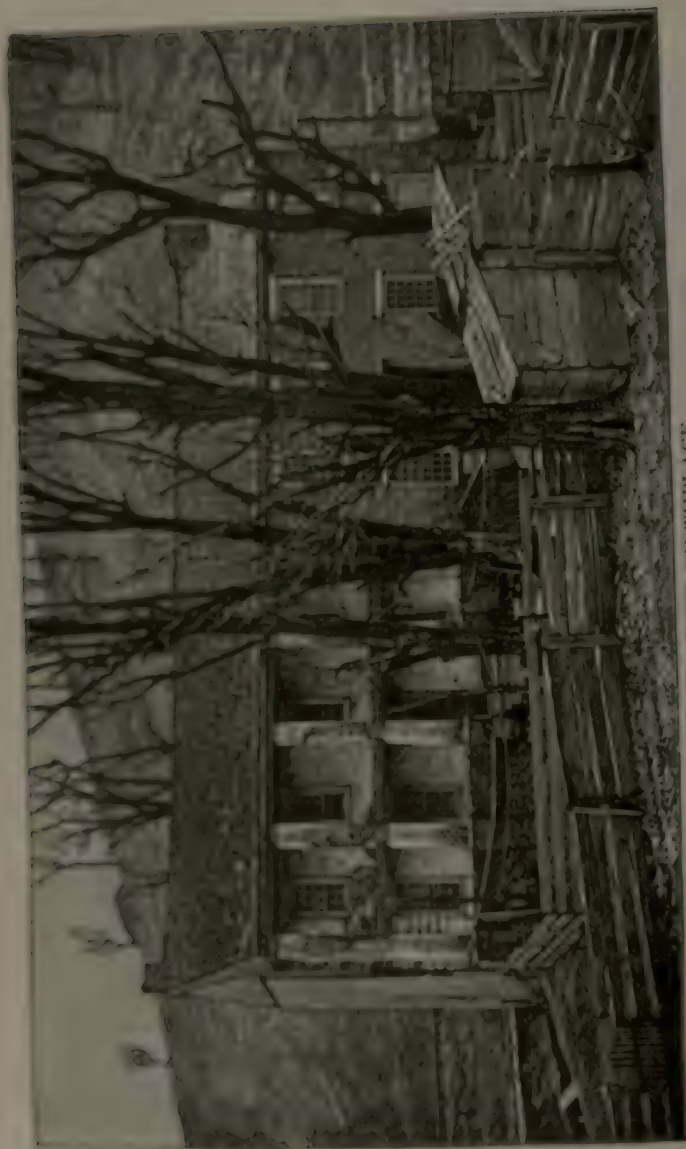
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MR. BLAINE'S BIRTHPLACE.
(West Brownsville, Pa.)

INTRODUCTION.

A GENERAL VIEW OF MR. BLAINE'S CAREER.

HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

It is a difficult task to attempt to give the correct history of any man. It is particularly difficult in the case of Mr. Blaine. He has been the subject of eulogies so extravagant as to border upon the burlesque. On the other hand, he has been criticised and denounced as if he were the last of all criminals. He has been constantly before the public for the last thirty years. He steadily grew in prominence until he became recognized as the most prominent man of his party, without regard to any official position. To arrive at such a position he must have had unusual qualities. The writer of this work has had for a number of years the best of opportunities for studying Mr. Blaine. This period of observation began during Mr. Blaine's term as Speaker of the National House of Representatives, and extended through every phase of his official career. As a special correspondent, the writer was present during every day of the official investigations of Mr. Blaine in Wash-

ington, and subsequently was a witness of the dramatic incidents which followed in the open sessions of the House.

It was directly following the summer of the eventful year of 1876 that the writer became personally acquainted with Mr. Blaine. He was fortunate enough from the first to secure his confidence, and through this confidence was enabled to talk freely with him upon every subject of interest. Mr. Blaine, when once his confidence was given, was more than frank. He excelled in the art of conversation. His shrewd judgment of men and affairs, his nimble wit, and his clear, clean English made him an unusually entertaining companion. Unlike many men of equal intelligence, he delighted to give and take. He was not given to monopolizing a conversation. At times, he would be in a questioning mood, and if any one had anything to say, and real information to impart, no one could be a more attentive listener than he.

When Mr. Blaine was writing his *Twenty Years of Congress*, during the winter of '83 and '84, the writer was in almost daily communication with him. He was then given an opportunity to look at the original manuscripts, to go over the proofs, and to study closely his methods of literary work. Sometimes during these visits Mr. Blaine was in a reminiscent

mood, and would only talk of the leaders of the past. Again, his mind would come back to the issues of the day, when he would discuss with pungent directness the topics of the time. While he was engaged in writing his book, he appeared to have freed himself from political prejudices. He never saw more clearly the political situation than at that time. He was then very reluctant to re-enter the field of politics. His reasons were given during interludes of his literary work. He was fully convinced that the Republican party that year was to be defeated. He said that the dissatisfaction throughout the country was too great to be overcome. He believed that whoever the Democrats should nominate would be elected. This view is quite enough to demonstrate the sincerity of his desire to keep out of politics and to show his reluctance to permit his name to go before the Convention which later in that year nominated him for the office of President of the United States.

The writer, still acting as a special correspondent, accompanied Mr. Blaine throughout the campaign of that year. He began with him in the State of Maine and traveled in a special car which took Mr. Blaine through the campaign journey made in the West. He saw him at all points of advantage and disadvantage, and was a witness of the daily confer-

ences between him and the local leaders who came to report to their chief.

Later the writer, as the London correspondent of the *New York World*, came again into intimate personal contact with Mr. Blaine. He saw him at all of the principal points visited by him in Europe. He had, on account of Mr. Blaine's isolation from ordinary political surroundings, unusual opportunities for learning his views. Mr. Blaine while in Europe depended upon the writer for a large part of his current information concerning the political situation in America, and was in constant communication with him during his foreign wanderings.

The object of this work is to give certain living pictures of Mr. Blaine's dramatic career, and to present, in connection with certain studies of his public life, such records of private conversations and observations of his personality as will give perhaps a more correct idea of him than would only a dry study of his speeches and an examination of his record as a public man.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, in speaking of biography, says: "Biography has often been allotted to writers who seem very little acquainted with the nature of their task or very negligent about the performance. They rarely afford any other account than might be collected from public papers, but imagine themselves

writing a life when they exhibit a chronological series of actions or preferments, and have so little regard to the manners or behaviors of their heroes that more knowledge may be gained of a man's real character by a short conversation with one of his servants than from a formal and studied narrative begun with his pedigree and ended with his funeral."

The writer desires to disclaim at the outset any intention to write a pretentious work. He wishes to present as honest and faithful a record as possible of Mr. Blaine's career, many incidents of which fell under his personal observation, and to give as just an estimate as possible of his public record. The writer, for the greater part of his acquaintance with Mr. Blaine, was not in special political sympathy with him. In nearly all of his relations with Mr. Blaine as a special correspondent he represented important and influential Democratic newspapers. He was first attracted to Mr. Blaine by the unfairness and vindictiveness of the Democratic investigations of the House of Representatives. He always sought, as a correspondent, to treat Mr. Blaine fairly, and on account of this desire received special consideration from Mr. Blaine. The writer never asked and never received any political favors from Mr. Blaine at any time when he was in a position of power. It was only in later years that the writer's political sympa-

this became in accordance with the doctrines of the Republican party. This explanation is given for the purpose of showing, if possible, that the writer has not been influenced in his judgment of Mr. Blaine by any personal feeling, and that his eyes have been quite as wide open to Mr. Blaine's faults as to his many brilliant and admirable qualities. Mr. Blaine was very human, and, being human, had many imperfections. It is possible that some of these imperfections may have also had their share in creating his enormous popularity.

This popularity in itself is a subject for careful study. No political leader in this country has ever had a more devoted following. When he was defeated for the Presidency in 1884, he received on the popular vote, taking out the Democratic strongholds of Brooklyn and New York, a majority of over four hundred thousand. Wherever he went during that campaign he was received by enormous crowds of people. Gatherings of ten thousand were almost hourly occurrences. At the stations where the flying special train stopped gatherings of twenty-five thousand were common, and meetings where fifty thousand people were brought together by the single desire to see him were not unusual. Upon a few occasions during that campaign there were assemblages numbering one hundred thousand. No cam-

paign ever witnessed in the United States has ever been more notable than this in the wildness of the enthusiasm upon the one side and the bitter vindictiveness upon the other. Mr. Blaine was nominated in a convention where all previous demonstrations of uproar and delight were surpassed when his friends triumphed. Wherever he went during the period of that canvass he was greeted by such cries of frantic enthusiasm as to thrill the blood of the most sluggish and indifferent. Surely there must have been something noteworthy in the character of such a leader, who could, by the mere magic of his presence, provoke such demonstrations of devotion.

The outward reasons for Mr. Blaine's popularity before a crowd would not be apparent to a casual observer. There have been many men in the political world of the United States who possessed higher gifts of eloquence. He had nothing of the affectation of the so-called orator. His manner was very simple and very direct. His voice was not particularly agreeable when raised to the key necessary for the delivery of a public address. It had a metallic note, however, which vibrated upon the ear and in such a way as to produce a thrill of emotion. There were notes of enthusiasm and of feeling which must have had behind them deep passion to have produced the corresponding effect upon the assembled

listeners. Yet Mr. Blaine nearly always spoke without the semblance of great emotion. He gave, however, an impression of sincerity, and of being very much in earnest. He was very careful in his choice of words. He avoided the use of the superlative, and was very sparing in the use of adjectives. With him the thought was the important thing and it was his constant desire to make the sentences employed as a medium for communicating the thought as simple as possible, so that the form of the sentence would not attract particular notice, leaving the mind free for the impression of the idea. In his judgment the man who had the best literary style was the one who apparently had none. In other words, he should be so simple and so direct that the reader or listener would forget that there was such a thing as style.

Mr. Blaine very rarely made a speech that was not full from beginning to end of information. He rarely depended upon what is called the inspiration of the moment. Nearly all of his noted addresses were carefully prepared in his library and memorized. He was an enthusiastic student of American history, and only a moderate student of the history of foreign nations. For everything that related to this country he was a great authority. He was familiar with the workings of this government from its first founding.

He had carefully studied the characters of every one of the public men of our history, going back to the earliest days until he knew them better than most public men know their daily associates. In this field he was very thorough. While he always prepared himself for any special effort, yet through his wide readings and well-stored mind and tenacious memory, he was well equipped for the emergencies of off-hand debate. His readiness, the keenness of his wit, the correctness of his descriptions, and the sharp analyses of the motives of men made him always a formidable antagonist. Added to this he had the weight of a great individuality. There was something of almost physical force in the onslaughts of Mr. Blaine when in the height of his power in the House. He was capable of a swiftness and an energy which for the moment carried everything before him. Some of his opponents would be taken off their feet by the impulsiveness of this rush, when, if the argument presented had been delivered in a calm and quiet manner, they might have found ample opportunity for the making of effective replies.

Mr. Blaine had a most engaging personality. He was in the best sense of the word a fine looking man. He was even handsomer when he passed the period of middle life, when his hair and beard began to whiten, than in his youth. Advancing years

appeared to touch him kindly. The dark hair and full beard of early youth, when they began to change, turned to a fine white, which set off his refined and delicate complexion. He was just under six feet in height, and in the full prime of his life he weighed nearly 200 pounds. He had a powerful, well-rounded figure. He was very straight, with a deep chest and broad, well-developed shoulders. His proportions were graceful, which can be rarely said of any man of his size not specially trained as an athlete. Many of the stories published concerning Mr. Blaine's athletic abilities are as untrue as they are absurd. He had the strength, the vigor, and the physical ability of a man properly developed and who has lived a very simple life. He always took good care of himself; he never used tobacco in any form. For many years he was an absolute abstainer. After he passed middle life he used wine occasionally upon his table. His use of stimulants, however, was always very moderate. He was always careful to take from eight to nine hours for sleep. He was also excessively careful in all of his personal habits.

His complexion was very fair. In comparison with many robust men, this fairness amounted to a pallor. This gave him an appearance of being delicate. During the last ten years of his life his complexion was absolutely destitute of color. This constantly gave

rise to stories of ill-health, which were not well founded. His eyes were a dark gray, and when under the influence of excitement they became quite black. His nose was very large and impossible to classify. It followed nearly a straight line, but with a breadth of base unusual in straight-nosed men. He wore a mustache and beard which were carefully trimmed. Even until the last of his life his hair was quite thick. The handsomest feature of his face was his forehead. It was very broad and high, and showed almost no lines of age. Notwithstanding his many trials and many sorrows, little trace was left of them upon his countenance. Before the world he presented an almost impenetrable mask. It was more by the flash of his eye that his feelings were shown. His manners were as simple and as natural as his literary style.

Mr. Blaine's temperament was very impulsive. He was capable of great gusts of anger, but incapable of prolonged resentment. His friends often complained of this lack of resentment. Unless a critic had gone beyond the line of what he considered proper criticism, he would treat him, when he came in contact with him, with even more consideration than he would extend to an indiscreet eulogist. He carried this very far. There was no limit to his patience with the critic so long as the latter confined himself

to his public acts, and he was known to be most charitable and forgetful even of personal injuries. The editor of one of the most vindictive of Western Democratic newspapers who perhaps had published concerning him as much current abuse as ever appeared in any one newspaper became only a few years afterward an intimate and trusted personal friend of Mr. Blaine. If any man sought his friendship it was not refused. The conditions of maintaining it were very simple. Mr. Blaine was a very friendly man. He was especially fond of companionship. He hated to move in a narrow groove, and at Washington had nearly as wide a personal popularity among Democrats as among Republicans. He loved to talk with men who had different views from himself. He was particularly happy in the social field. He loved good stories, was fond of telling them, and was a delighted listener to anything amusing. He had a very keen sense of the ludicrous and a very light touch in relating anecdotes of a personal character. He was particularly welcome at the dinner table, where the range of conversation took in a wide series of topics. The conversation at his own dinner table was quite as often upon literary topics as upon political ones. Indeed, the literary atmosphere of the Blaine household was quite as marked as the political.

In Mr. Blaine's character there were two distinct and widely differing elements. Although in combat he was virile and manly there was a womanish side to him. He had a woman's love for splendor, for brilliant company, for music, and for the pleasure of refined companionship. Then he was very nervous. He was easily subject to fits of depression, and could be almost as easily moved to a feeling of cheerfulness. He was impatient with trifles and cried out at pin pricks, but, on the other hand, under the burden of great pain or the suffering of deep grief and disappointment he had the calm and resolute endurance of a stoic.

Mr. Blaine was always a notable figure wherever he went. At an official reception or at a private gathering he could not enter the room without becoming at once the target of attention. There was an atmosphere of life, vitality, and good fellowship about him which gathered to him at once the socially inclined. No stranger could see him enter a room without being curious to learn who he was. He had some of the qualities of a great actor. He seemed to know by instinct how to present any subject, great or small. He appeared to have an intuitive sense concerning the temperament of his circle of listeners. He was particularly stimulated by an audience.

For a man whose private life was upright, whose

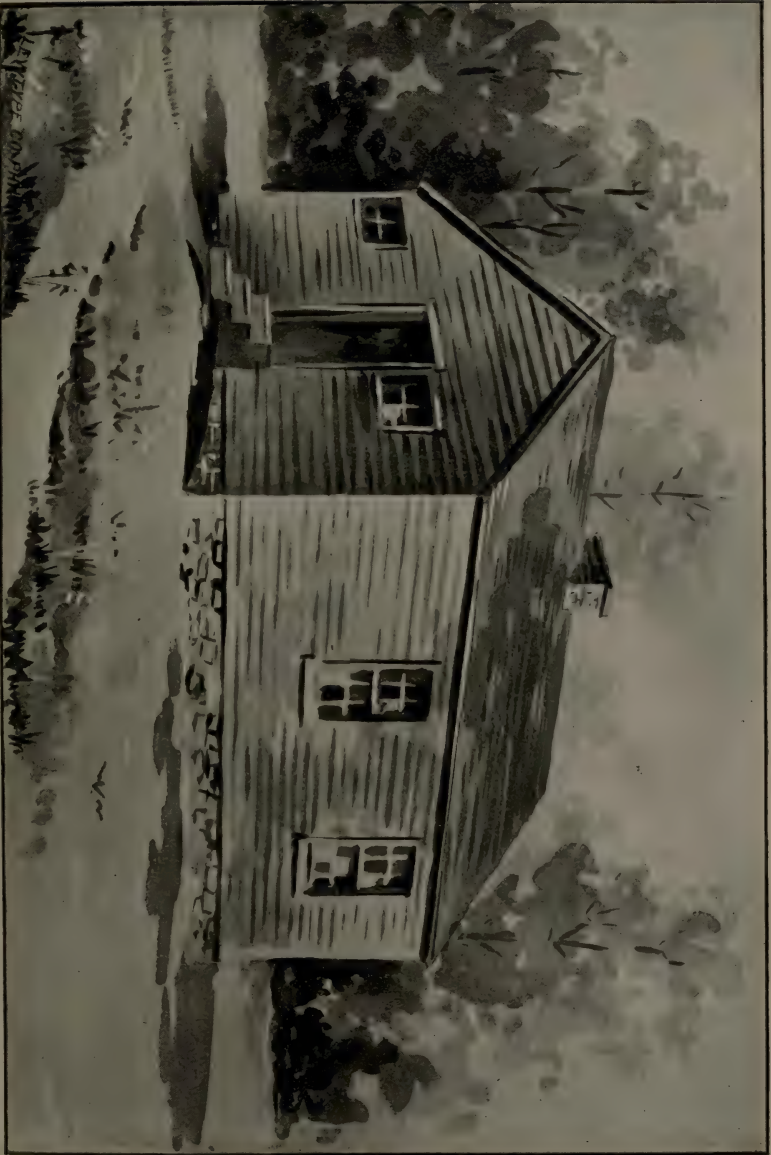
habits were clean and simple, he was made the object of more abuse than any public man of our history. While his friends have been devoted his enemies have been equally energetic. For this there are a number of reasons, which will be treated further on.

One of the most powerful adverse influences to Mr. Blaine was the enmity made by him in 1866. This grew out of his dispute with Roscoe Conkling. The occasion of it, when studied in the light of to-day, appears to be trivial, but yet its effect was continuous up to the day of Mr. Conkling's death, and in its after-consequences most serious and widespread. The little speech made by Mr. Blaine in the controversy which arose between him and Mr. Conkling, concerning certain frauds charged against the management of the Provost Marshal's department in Northern New York, led to a complete severance of their personal relations. Mr. Blaine afterward regretted this incident. He admired thoroughly the great qualities of Mr. Conkling's mind, though he had in his speech burlesqued some of his peculiarities and faults. Mr. Conkling's vanity being deeply wounded, he was unrelenting in his determination to punish Mr. Blaine. At every step of Mr. Blaine's presidential ambition he was confronted by the powerful individuality and influence of Mr. Conkling. In 1880, when General Garfield was nominated, Mr. Blaine would

have undoubtedly received the nomination, if it had not been for the presence and influence of Mr. Conkling in the Chicago Convention. It was owing to this feeling of resentment against Mr. Blaine, growing out of this incident of 1866, that Mr. Conkling began his war upon the Garfield administration. This led to his resignation from the Senate, and the stirring up of a passion of partisan excitement which gave Guiteau his insane pretext for the assassination of President Garfield. The influence of this incident upon both Mr. Blaine's and Mr. Conkling's careers has never apparently been appreciated by any of their biographers.

Mr. Blaine's personal honor has been the occasion of repeated assaults. During and preceding the campaigns of 1876, 1880, and 1884, he was held up as the most dishonest and untrustworthy of men. Under the shadow of the baleful investigation of 1876, he was defeated before the Cincinnati Convention. Yet a fact which seems to have never been dwelt upon should now be recalled and emphasized. This is the failure of that House Investigating Committee to complete its work, or to make any report in the case of Mr. Blaine. It has been said that the results were negative. This is a very feeble way of summarizing the results of an investigation which was brought for the purpose of crushing and destroy-

ing the man who was then one of the most dominating and overshadowing figures in this country. Some of the relentless critics who have pursued Mr. Blaine, even to the verge of the grave, speak of this investigation, in which the celebrated Mulligan episode occurred, as one which was final and complete in its results. One critic even has gone so far as to say that Mr. Blaine narrowly escaped the penitentiary, and that if he had had his just deserts, he would have been promptly imprisoned upon the findings of this committee. Partisan spirit and personal malice could not go beyond this, unless it had insisted upon Mr. Blaine's execution. But what was the real result of that investigation? At best, before any personal explanation or defense from Mr. Blaine, there was created only a presumption of evidence. It must be remembered that the committee charged with this investigation was made up of furious political partisans. It was dominated by Southern influences which were specially antagonistic to Mr. Blaine, on account of his celebrated speech opposing the amnesty of Jefferson Davis. Yet, after Mr. Blaine's personal explanation in the House, the investigation ceased, and not another witness was called. The committee never met but three times afterward, and the records of the House of Representatives will show that this committee never went through the for-



SCHOOL HOUSE, BROWNSVILLE, PA.—WHERE MR. BLAINE BEGAN HIS EDUCATION.

mality of presenting a report. If Mr. Blaine had been guilty of one-thousandth part of what was charged against him by his critics, it would have been the duty of this committee to have reported him to the House for censure, at least. This is especially noteworthy for the reason that the House of Representatives was then engaged in numerous investigations, and in each particular case a finding was made and formal reports drawn, with the exception of the investigation directed against Mr. Blaine, and about which so much has been said.

No man in public life has ever had more continuous support from his own people than Mr. Blaine. During the entire period, beginning in 1858, he had the vote of confidence of his own people. He had from them the highest office within the gift of his State. In the Presidential campaign of 1884 he received the largest vote that any Presidential candidate has received in Maine since the formation of the State. This unshaken and continued confidence in him by the people who knew him best was always to Mr. Blaine a source of proud satisfaction. When scandal and partisan fury pursued him with the greatest energy he would find in his own State a cordial welcome and a sympathetic support.

Many qualities have been ascribed to him which do not properly belong to him. Some of his eulo-

gists say that he would have made a great financier, and that had he entered the financial world he would have become a king there. This view, judged by the facts of Mr. Blaine's temperament, is an incorrect one. Mr. Blaine had too great an impatience with business details ever to have made a good administrator of affairs purely financial. His theories concerning finance were correct. From the first he was opposed to an inflated currency or to the coinage of cheap dollars. While he was a bi-metalist, he did not believe in the general and free use of silver except through the general co-operation of the civilized nations of the world. While he had good judgment concerning certain lines of investments, and was especially fortunate in the purchase of certain coal properties in Pennsylvania early in his career, he yet was too much absorbed in intellectual pursuits of a literary or political character to give much of his time to financial affairs. He was careless in money matters, so far as they related to the everyday affairs of life.

He was especially fitted for the field of journalism. He possessed many of the qualifications of a brilliant and successful editor. He had a keen sense of the public's wants, and through this sense was close in sympathy with the popular will. He had the experienced and successful editor's ability to recognize

the leading topic of the moment. Some of his methods would correspond to the methods employed in sensational journalism of the higher class. He knew how to present in the most striking manner the topics of the time. None knew better than he how to use the channels of the newspapers for creating impressions upon the public mind. He was for many years of his political life an anonymous editorial contributor to the pages of the *New York Tribune*.

He was at his best as a controversialist. In debate or in the field of diplomatic correspondence he was a strong opponent. In summing up the life of any public man whose career has been almost exclusively confined to the field of politics, the results which can be classed in words are often very meagre. When Samuel S. Cox died, after over a quarter of a century of faithful services in the House of Representatives, it was remembered of him as a brilliant result of this long period of hard work that he had left upon the statute-book, as a record of his life, the law establishing the life-saving service.

A study of Mr. Blaine's life will give a most satisfactory answer to the question of what has he after all accomplished. A man may be a brilliant debater, he may perform correctly all of the duties assigned to him in the various offices he may be called upon

to hold, and yet when he comes to die, after the words of eulogy have been pronounced he may leave behind him no more real trace than the writings made upon the shores of the sea. Mr. Blaine's life, however, will leave behind it a lasting and permanent result which will make for him a solid and enduring reputation.

He outlined a broader policy for our national life. He sought to raise politics into a larger field. This he accomplished in his South American policy. This achievement is the chapter in his career which will make his name live the longest. This policy, in brief, is in the line of the future fraternity of nations. This is the ideal of every high-minded statesman. Two very important steps were accomplished by Mr. Blaine in this direction. The first was in outlining a plan for arbitration of all disputes between the United States and the nations on this continent lying south of us. The work of the Peace Conference, convoked at Washington by Mr. Blaine, must in the end have a decided result upon the disputes of the nations of the Old World. If all questions of difference can be settled on this side of the water by arbitration, then in time arbitration must make its way around the world, and war will be abolished. The fortification of this peace policy is in the newly established commercial relations growing out of the



WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON COLLEGE, WASHINGTON, PA.
(Where Mr. Blaine was Educated.)

policy of reciprocity. When peace sentiments and commercial interests are successfully united, then the danger of conflict becomes less and less, so that it is not too much to expect that the early future will see such a close union of interests between the republics on this continent that war as a means of settling their disputes will be forever abolished. It would be too much to assume that any such result has yet been reached. But such an outcome will be the logical end of the policy so nobly planned and so brilliantly begun by Mr. Blaine.

CHAPTER I.

MR. BLAINE'S FAMILY AND HIS EARLY LIFE.

THERE is nothing specially remarkable in Mr. Blaine's early life. His experiences as a boy and in college do not differ greatly from the experiences of thousands of other American youths. Although his immediate family was not rich, they lived in comfort and he was given the best facilities for education available in his time and neighborhood. His father and his grandfather before him had greater opportunities for culture and observation during the period of youth than he.

The Blaine family was of Scotch origin. They came to this country in 1720. They were Presbyterians of the most rigid kind. They were well-to-do people in Scotland. Ephraim Blaine, Mr. Blaine's great-grandfather, was the first of the family to acquire prominence in this country. For his time he was a rich man. He acquired large holdings of land in Western Pennsylvania in the Cumberland Valley. His family founded the present town of Carlisle. They built there the memorial church which is standing to-day. Ephraim Blaine was one of the largest

owners of land in his part of the State, and this property descended intact to his son James, the grandfather of Mr. Blaine.

Ephraim Blaine was a great figure in the war of the Revolution. He was first a colonel, and later was made Commissary-General of the patriot army. It was owing to his patriotism, his financial ability, and his private fortune that he was enabled to maintain supplies for Washington's army in the face of the greatest difficulties. It was he who inspired confidence among his neighbors and associates in the cause, and who pledged his private fortune where faith and the credit in the new government was weak. He was the trusted friend of General Washington, and his achievements made for him a most honorable place in the history of that eventful time.

The Cumberland Valley region was afterward settled by the veterans of the Revolution. Their tales and legends of this war were carefully handed down, and formed an atmosphere of patriotism and of Americanism which undoubtedly produced a great influence upon their descendants.

James Blaine, the son of Ephraim, inherited the bulk of the property left by the Commissary-General, who died at Carlisle, in 1804. He was liberally educated, according to his time, and, after finishing his education, traveled in Europe. Through the in-

fluence of his father's name, he was employed in the diplomatic field. This appears, however, to have been a mere incident in his European traveling. He came home as a dispatch-bearer, bringing with him the famous Jay Treaty. His home was in Carlisle, but after his return from Europe he spent a good deal of time in Philadelphia, where he was conspicuous in social life.

Ephraim Lyon Blaine, the father of Mr. Blaine, was the eldest son of James Blaine. He was born in 1796, eight years before his grandfather, the General, died. He received, also, a liberal education, and then followed in the footsteps of his father by going abroad for study and pleasure. He not only traveled through Europe, but also went to South America and the West Indies. He was a man of careful observation and of good ideas. Undoubtedly, his experience in South America and his recital of the wealth and possibilities of those countries planted in the mind of his son the seeds which developed later in the form of his South American policy.

Ephraim L. Blaine married Maria Gillespie, a descendant of a Scotch-Irish family which came from the North of Ireland in 1771. Her grandfather, Neal Gillespie, who was the head of the family that left Ireland, possessed a moderate property when he

came to this country. This he invested in land in the neighborhood of the Blaines, in Cumberland Valley. This family became rich and prosperous, and occupied a social position equal to that of the Blaines. The Gillespies were Roman Catholics. Their home was in Fayette County. At a later period Neal Gillespie, of this family, crossed the Monongahela River and built a stone house at West Brownsville, in Washington County. This land was bought from the Indians, and was known as Indian Hill farm.

Mr. Blaine's mother was a remarkable character. She was one of the handsomest women of her day. Her picture, published in this book, shows to what a remarkable degree her beauty was preserved up to the last days of her life. Her hair was dark, her eyes were piercing, and her face fine in its lines, while her complexion was fair as that of a child. She was devout, careful, possessing an accurate judgment and a thoroughly keen knowledge of business affairs. Ephraim Blaine, her husband, was lavish in his expenditures, and possessed none of the qualifications necessary to preserve the property which had descended to him, and which, augmented by the property of his wife, should have formed the basis for one of the greatest of modern fortunes. The land owned by him afforded ample revenue for the main-

tenance of his family, and all that was needed was a careful business administration to have kept every acre of the land in the hands of the family. The value of this land to-day is many millions of dollars. Ephraim sold from his holdings, for \$25,000, the tract of land now occupied by the Economite Society, a property which is now worth at least \$15,000,000, exclusive of the improvements made by this Society. He lived in a liberal way, and exceeded his income, so that the great estate dwindled away. Much of it was then regarded as nearly valueless. Some of the most valuable coal and iron properties in Western Pennsylvania have since been developed on lands which Ephraim L. Blaine allowed to drift through his hands through mere failure to pay the taxes thereon. Toward middle-life the owner of this property was forced to seek public employment in order to obtain a sufficient income for his large and growing family. He was first Justice of the Peace of West Brownsville; later he removed to Washington, Pa., where he held the office of Prothonotary.

James Gillespie Blaine, who was named after his two grandfathers, was born at Indian Hill farm on the 31st of January, 1830. He was the third of a family of eight, and the only one of them who has attracted public notice. His early associations were

those of any country lad whose family lived in comfortable circumstances with a heritage of education and culture. His father gave special attention to the education of his children. His travels and broad view of life had also its influence upon their education. He had a good library, while the current literature of the day, such as newspapers and magazines, were always in the house. The mother was a musician and played the piano, so that the home circle was one of cheerfulness and refinement. Young Blaine began school in the traditional red school-house at the age of six. His first two teachers were women. At the age of eleven he was sent away from home, and spent a year in Lancaster, Ohio, an inmate of the family of the Hon. Thos. Ewing, a cousin of his mother, and the then Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Ewing was the father of the wife of General Sherman. The Shermans and the Blaines have been always very intimate. It was undoubtedly in the atmosphere of the Ewing family that young Blaine received his first impressions of political life. In the families of such officials as cabinet officers, politics and the personal gossip of the administration family are the prevailing topics of conversation, and it is natural that an intelligent and active-minded boy should have become deeply interested and impressed by the stories of public life, the



MR. BLAINE'S MOTHER.

anecdotes of prominent people, and the power and influence exercised by them. It would be too much to suppose that it made more than a temporary impression upon the boy, but from time to time following this visit young Blaine had his attention called to political matters. He had a natural aptitude for public affairs. He was well grounded in history by his parents, and when his father removed to Washington, Pa., in 1842 he was prepared for the Washington and Jefferson College, the university of Western Pennsylvania, which was located in that town. He entered this college in 1843 at the early age of thirteen. Of course the standard for admission at that time was much below that of to-day.

The young man was enabled to pursue his college studies while living at home. He learned easily and was a proficient student. He devoted quite as much time, however, to amusement and to out-door fun as to his books. He was in no sense of the word a book-worm. He graduated fourth in his class. Out of the many stories concerning his college career a few points are conspicuous. First, he was strong in mathematics and logic. He was a fairly good Latin scholar, although he did not keep up his reading after leaving college. He never studied any modern language except the French, and this he only read in a superficial way. Among his playmates he was

known as "Nosey" Blaine on account of the prominence of his nose, which seemed at that time to be out of proportion with his slim, angular figure. He was popular among his schoolmates and showed his ability in one particular regard as a politician by securing the election as president of the debating society, although he had a certain defect in his speech and was not able to particularly distinguish himself by speaking in the debates before the society. This defect in his speech was overcome to a great degree by patience and drilling, but even in later life he had a slight lisp.

His inclinations during his college career were in the direction of journalism. He wrote a number of essays upon the political topics of the day. Something of the bent of his mind was shown in his graduation address, delivered in September, 1847, the year in which gold was discovered in California. The subject of this address was the duty of an educated American. In this address he said:

"The sphere of labor for the educated American is continually enlarging. But recently we added the vast dominion of the Lone Star Republic to our glorious Union. The war to which that act gave rise is now in victorious progress, and will not end without another great accession of territory—possibly carrying our flag beyond the Great American Desert

to the shores of the Pacific Sea. Where our armies march, population follows, and the field of duty for the scholar is to be continental in extent, and as varied as the demands of a progressive civilization."

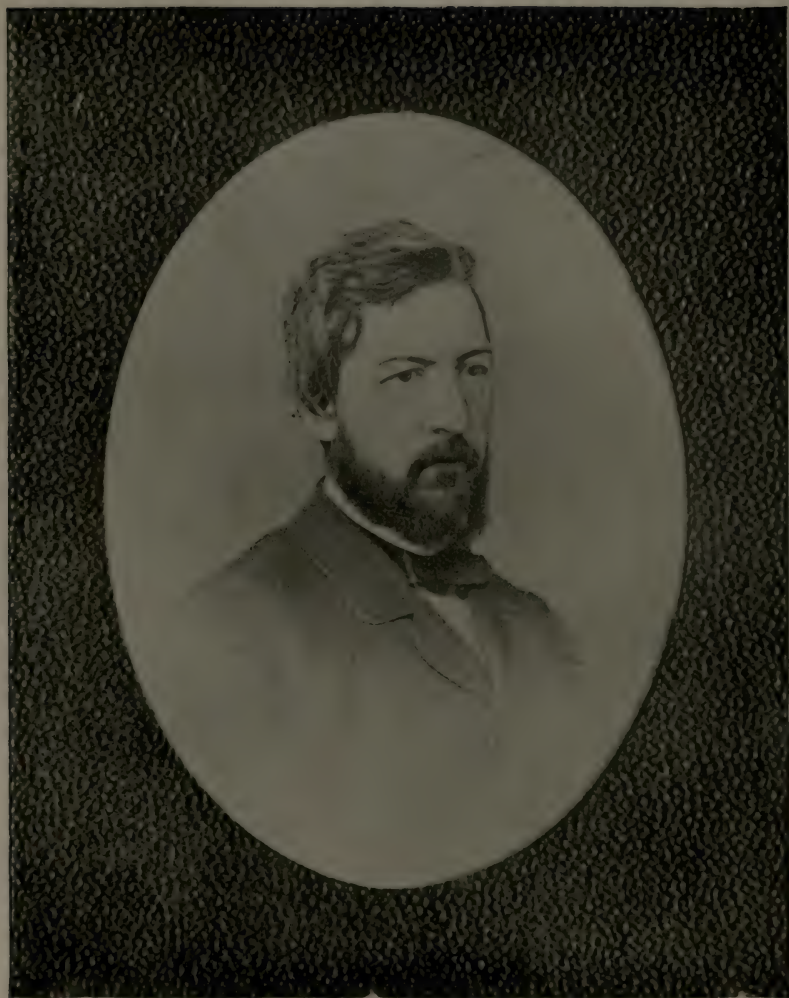
The influence of this college, which was a Presbyterian institution, undoubtedly fastened Mr. Blaine's religious convictions. He followed the Church of his father, while several of the other children joined the mother's Church. Throughout life Mr. Blaine consistently adhered to this Church. He expressed himself once only, in the campaign of 1884, upon the subject of his religion.

It has always been charged that Mr. Blaine had a weakness for his mother's Church, and that his sympathies inclined him to become a Catholic. These stories have been undoubtedly strengthened by the fact that his two eldest daughters—Alice and Margaret—openly joined the Catholic Church. Mr. Blaine's declaration upon the subject of his religious views made in answer to an inquiry was as follows:

"My ancestors on my father's side were, as you know, always identified with the Presbyterian Church, and they were prominent and honored in the old colony of Pennsylvania. But I will never consent to make any public declaration upon the subject, and for two reasons: First, because I abhor the introduction of anything that looks like a reli-

gious test or qualification for office in a republic where perfect freedom of conscience is the birthright of every citizen ; and, second, because my mother was a devoted Catholic. I would not for a thousand Presidencies speak a disrespectful word of my mother's religion, and no pressure will draw me into any avowal of hostility or unfriendliness to Catholics, though I have never received and do not expect any political support from them."

While this does not contain any concrete declaration concerning Mr. Blaine's personal belief, it is yet a matter of fact that he was a member of the Presbyterian Church of Augusta, Maine, and always attended the services of a Church of that denomination in Washington. His wife is also a member of the same Church.



MR. BLAINE AT THIRTY.

As Speaker of the House in the Maine Legislature.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST STEPS IN HIS CAREER AFTER LEAVING COLLEGE.

AFTER graduating from college Mr. Blaine looked about for the best means to support himself and to advance his fortunes. He had then no help from his father. At this time his father was out of office, and the young graduate made no delay in going to work. Following his graduation, in October, he found employment as professor of mathematics in a military school at Blue Lick Springs, Kentucky, through the influence of the Hon. Thomas Ewing. It was a large school, having upwards of 200 pupils. They were the sons of the planters of the South, and of a class hard to govern. Mr. Blaine from the first maintained his supremacy by his tact and firmness, and won the respect and obedience of his unruly pupils. This result, however, was not reached without a physical fight. Early in the history of his connection with the school there was a rebellion against the faculty. Some of the students attacked the professors with pistols and knives. Mr. Blaine was conspicuous in this fight at

the head of the faculty, using his fists and arms against the representatives of the Southern chivalry, who, as usual, came armed to settle a dispute. The faculty triumphed in the fight, and Mr. Blaine won from these Southern young men more respect on account of his having been the hero of this struggle than if he had demonstrated before them the most profound learning.

Another interesting incident in his career as a teacher was his defense of a pupil, a poor young man who had knocked down and soundly punished the son of a wealthy planter. The poor student's name was John F. Edmonds. He had resented an insult to his mother. Yet, because he had struck the son of one of the wealthy patrons of the school, he was severely rebuked by the faculty, and threatened with expulsion and disgrace unless he made an apology. Mr. Edmonds, who afterward became a resident of Hopkinsville, Kentucky, said that Professor Blaine alone stood by him. In his account of this incident, published some years ago, Edmonds said: "The faculty were all against me except Professor Blaine. He arose, and with much warmth and feeling said that he could not withhold his sympathy from a boy whom love and reverence for his mother had involved in trouble. 'This boy,' said he, 'only resented a foul insult to his absent mother. What

boy of manliness and honor, especially with the peculiar training of a Kentucky boy, would not resent such an insult more quickly than an insult offered to himself? I will not only not consent to censure him, but say that I think he did right, and that I feel more like praising than reproving him.' This brief speech worked like magic on the strict minds of the faculty, and the offender was turned loose with a general admonition."

The president of this institute was Colonel Thornton F. Johnson. His wife was the head of a school for young ladies at Millersburg, some twenty miles away from Blue Lick Springs. Among the teachers in Mrs. Johnson's school was Miss Harriet Stanwood, whose father was formerly a merchant at Ipswich, Mass. He moved from that village to Augusta, Me., where he died of heart disease in 1845. Following his death Miss Stanwood became a teacher. Mr. Blaine became acquainted with her during her Kentucky engagement, and in the third year of his professorship they became engaged to be married. At the end of his three years' service in the military institute Mr. Blaine resigned and went home to Pennsylvania. He had not yet adopted a profession. He was at this time inclined to the law. Within the year following his leaving the school in Kentucky he was married to Miss Stanwood. The marriage took

place at Pittsburgh in 1851. He was married at the early age of twenty-one. He went to Philadelphia and there engaged in the study of law in the office of Theodore Cuyler. To support himself and wife during these studies he obtained a situation as instructor in the Philadelphia Blind Asylum. His record there was an honorable and a satisfactory one. At the end of two years he resigned his place; and while he had fitted himself for admission to the bar, he never underwent examination to qualify himself for practice. Owing to Mrs. Blaine's influence he left Philadelphia and went with her to her former home, Augusta, Me. About the time he left Kentucky his father died. From 1854 he was wholly identified with the State of Maine, and while he retained a grateful memory and a loyal affection for the place of his birth, he never returned there except for occasional visits.

This early life formed the outlines of his character and established firmly the lines of thought and of political belief to which his subsequent life was devoted. In his Cumberland Valley home he acquired a stock of patriotism and an Americanism peculiar to that region. From his father and his college he took his religion, which was strengthened by his marrying a believer in the same doctrines. From his father, who was a Whig, he took his politics. In

Kentucky he saw face to face the evils of slavery, and learned to comprehend the arrogance of the Southern spirit. This experience was of incalculable value to him and gave great intensity and emphasis to his arguments in the anti-slavery campaign of Fremont in 1856. His family was opposed to slaveholding. But the time for anti-slavery agitation did not come until Mr. Blaine was at an age to enter actively into the field of politics. Upon that subject he did not hesitate. He was, from the first to the last, an uncompromising opponent to slavery and was unswerving in his devotion to the cause of Abolition. It was the leading subject of his maiden speeches in the Fremont campaign. The earnestness and the force of the young ex-professor, now become an editor, made him conspicuous from the start in his newly-adopted State.

CHAPTER III.

MR. BLAINE'S SIX YEARS OF JOURNALISTIC WORK.

MR. BLAINE went to Maine at the time of one of the most exciting and interesting periods in our political history. The pro-slavery Democrats had carried the election of 1852, and the country was deeply moved over the conflicts upon the soil of Kansas between the so-called border ruffians who respresented slavery, and the New England Colonists who came to Kansas opposed to slavery and to its encroachments in that Territory, and whom the former sought to intimidate. Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, three of the great figures in the controversies at Washington, had just died. Everywhere there was talk of the "impending crisis." The Fugitive Slave Law, which went on the statute books upon the 18th of September, 1850, was being ruthlessly enforced. This making the North the hunting-ground for escaped slaves, with Federal office-holders as hunters, aroused public opinion and added swiftly to the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment. Mobs and riots upon the part of indignant citizens were common. Often slaves captured by their owners

were re-taken by the sympathizers with abolition. The law was nullified and openly defied. In return the abolition leaders were often mobbed and driven into hiding by indignant crowds who sought to kill them because they dared to speak in public against the crime of slavery. Everywhere the spirit of slavery was aggressive, violent, and hesitating at no means necessary to secure its supremacy.

Mr. Blaine, soon after moving to Augusta, became a part owner of the *Kennebec Journal*, a weekly newspaper published in that town. He had associated with him his wife's brother, Jacob Stanwood. He took possession of the new paper on the 10th of November, 1854, and announced the editorial policy of the paper with brevity and clearness. He said:

“Politically, *The Journal* will pursue the same course it has marked out for the last two months. We shall cordially support the Morrill or Republican party, the substantial principles of which are, as we understand them: freedom, temperance, river and harbor improvement within constitutional limits, homesteads for freemen, and a just administration of the public lands of the State and Nation. We shall advocate the cause of popular education as the surest safeguard of our Republican institutions, and especially the common schools of the State and city. . . . We shall devote a department of our paper each

week to religious intelligence of all kinds, and desire that our friends of all denominations will consider themselves invited freely to communicate anything in this department which they wish to have made public, particularly notices of religious conventions, ordinations, and meetings of such kind."

Some of Mr. Blaine's eulogistic biographers represent the youthful editor as having spent ten days in committing the entire files of his newly-purchased newspaper to memory before beginning his work. It is a fact that Mr. Blaine made a careful study of the previous issues of the paper as would any sensible man, coming for the first time into a field wholly new to him. By this reading he learned the history of the local issues, the previous expressions of the paper, and was enabled thereby to keep it in line with its past, without needlessly offending any of its previous supporters.

One of the most interesting paragraphs in this paper at this time was Mr. Blaine's description of Henry Clay. Henry Clay was Mr. Blaine's political model. His writings and his career had a greater influence on him than the life and writings of any other public man. Mr. Clay was an unswerving opponent to slavery. He was a conspicuous advocate of the American system of protection, and was one of the first to see and proclaim the importance of cul-

tivating close relations with the nations lying south of us. It was Mr. Clay who was the first to advocate the recognition of any new Republic formed in South America, and it was in the study of the writings and the speeches of this Kentucky statesman that Mr. Blaine found the inspiration for his South-American policy, the culmination of his political career. Mr. Blaine made a study of Mr. Clay when he was in Kentucky. He had there an opportunity of hearing him speak and of learning more concerning him than he could have done from the publications of the time. Mr. Blaine was always pleased when any one found a parallel in his career to that of Mr. Clay's. Mr. Blaine, in his personal description of Mr. Clay, in his newspaper said: "As a speaker, Mr. Clay is very earnest and persuasive; not polished either in manner or diction, but still irresistibly pleasing.

"He speaks from the soul, and the moment you hear him you are assured that he gives utterance only to what he knows and feels to be the truth and the cause of human freedom.

"Mr. Clay is a man of fine *personnel*, in the early prime of life—being only a few years on the shady side of forty, and, but for his full suit of gray, readily passing for ten years younger. He resembles ex-Vice-President Dallas, who always ranked as the finest-looking man on Pennsylvania Avenue."

The influence of Henry Clay was also openly displayed in his newspaper. He kept standing at the head of the editorial column, printed in capitals, the following extract from Mr. Clay's last speech in the United States Senate:

"I repeat it, sir, I never can and I never will, and no earthly power can make me vote, directly or indirectly, to spread slavery over territory where it does not exist. Never, while reason holds its seat in my brain; never, while my heart sends its vital fluid through my veins, NEVER!"

It is not necessary to go too deeply into the files of the *Kennebec Journal* in order to show the ability of the young editor. He wrote with clearness and with dignity and with information. One of the best illustrations of his style was in an answer to an attack made upon him by the pro-slavery organ, *The Age*. This newspaper resented Mr. Blaine's vigorous attacks upon the slaveholders, and published a paragraph which was the subject of one of the first editorials written by Mr. Blaine in his post as editor. This editorial foreshadows the style and manner of the future debater and diplomatic controversialist. This article is as follows:

"We find the following precious moreceau in *The Age* of Saturday last:

"One of the editors of the new Morrill organ in

this city has too recently partaken of the "slaveholder's salt," and reposed beneath the shadow of the "peculiar institution," to authorize him to lecture contemporaries on their duty to the cause of "freedom." We would recommend to his consideration Shakespeare's advice to new beginners in the art theatrical.'

"We—the editor referred to in this would-be severe paragraph—have to plead guilty to a residence of four years, prior to and including 1850, in the State of Kentucky. We were engaged in what we still consider the honorable capacity of a teacher in a literary institution, then and now in deservedly high standing with the several States, both North and South, which patronize and sustain it. Invited to take the position for a certain pecuniary consideration, which we regularly received, and having to the best of our ability and to the satisfaction of all concerned discharged our duties, we have been under the impression that the matter was closed, and nothing due from either party to the other in the way of personal obligation or political fealty. *The Age*, however, seems to think that, having partaken of the 'slaveholder's salt' (for which we paid), we should be dumb to the slaveholder's wrong-doing. So conscious are they of the potency of a little 'administration salt' in shutting their own mouths and

stifling their real sentiments on the slavery question that they cannot conceive of any one taking a more independent or more manly course.

“We beg leave further to say (since we are reluctantly forced into this allusion to self) that the anti-slavery sentiments, which, from our earliest youth, we imbibed in our native Pennsylvania—the first of the ‘old thirteen’ to abolish slavery—were deepened and strengthened by a residence among slaveholders, and that nowhere, either on slave soil or on free soil, have we expressed other feelings than those of decided hostility to the extension of the withering curse.

“Our residence in the South gave us, we hope, the advantage of a thorough comprehension of the question of slavery in all its aspects, and of the views of the men who sustain it. It taught us among other things that slaveholders, whilst wholly unreasonable and even perfidious in their aggressions upon freedom, have yet the magnanimity to despise a Northern traitor; and that all organists and apologists of dough-facery, after earning the contempt of freemen at home, have only for consolation the kicks and cuffs of their Southern masters.

“But we forbear; the opinion now current is that our neighbors of *The Age*, in consenting to preach acquiescence under the ‘crushing-out’ process of Pierce and Cushing, went it dirt cheap, and have

even failed to receive the whole of the stipulated compensation under this belief, the derision which they so richly merited and at first so bountifully received is rapidly subsiding and giving place to a feeling of pity. In this we trust we have the generosity to share, and cannot, therefore, find it in our heart to add a single taunt or unkind remark."

For six years he was connected with journalism. For three years he edited and published the *Kennebec Journal*. His editorial writing must have made more than an ordinary impression upon the community, because at the age of twenty-six, two years after his going to Maine, he made his appearance in the field of national politics by being sent as a delegate to the first National Convention of the Republican party, held at Philadelphia, in June, 1856. Mr. Blaine was made one of the secretaries of the Convention.

In 1857 he sold his interest in the *Kennebec Journal* for a good profit and invested to a good advantage the money and accepted a remunerative position as editor of the *Portland Daily Advertiser*. In the following year he was elected to the Maine Legislature, but retained his connection with the Portland newspaper until 1860. He kept his residence, however, at Augusta, the capital. He did most of his editorial work at home. He made friends in every direction, and the friendships made during this early connection with Maine never failed him.

CHAPTER IV.

MR. BLAINE'S EARLY POLITICAL HISTORY IN MAINE.

MR. BLAINE'S first appearance as a public speaker was during the campaign of 1856, when he returned from the first Republican Convention held at Philadelphia. He was asked to address a public assemblage at Augusta for the purpose of telling the story of the Convention's proceedings. The reports of the daily newspapers were at that date comparatively meagre. The various communities depended upon their delegates for the local pictures, detailed accounts, and descriptive pictures of the proceedings of the National Conventions. In this day the work is exhaustively done by the newspapers. The political orators are left free to discuss the issues presented in the platforms.

Some of Mr. Blaine's friends represent him as having been a success from the start as a public speaker. This is more than the facts of his history warrant. He was not a success as a debater in the literary society of his college. He was nervous, easily embarrassed, and, owing to the impediment in his speech, was unable to make an agreeable impression or to present a continuous and logical argument.

His first Augusta address was made with much hesitation. He was greatly embarrassed and sought at first to avoid making the speech. After a time he became accustomed to the sound of his voice, and having before him a friendly audience, was able to make a creditable report of what had been done at Philadelphia. The first speech made, however, by Mr. Blaine which he has himself thought worthy of preserving was delivered at a Republican meeting in Litchfield, Me., upon the 28th of June in the same year. This speech was carefully prepared beforehand and memorized. It begins with a brief outline of the character of the old parties and then goes on to describe the policy of the new Republican party. The speaker then passed to the Convention itself, and called attention to its marked feature, which was that a large proportion of its members were young men. The speech is notable for its conservative character, and in its claims for the very moderate purposes of the newly-formed party. This party did not propose at that time to abolish slavery where it existed, or to represent in any way the extreme spirit of the old Abolitionists. Its one great issue was its opposition to the extension of slavery to new territory, and to keep it absolutely within the limits in which it then existed. The speaker then in a very moderate way analyzed the characters of the leading candi-

dates on both sides. In this speech there is no partisan denunciation, and no extreme declarations that one might expect to find in the political address of a young and relatively unexperienced man. It is almost cold in its business-like directness, and undoubtedly commended itself to the cautious and conservative-minded electors in the State of Maine.

Nearly all of his addresses in that campaign were carefully prepared. Gradually he gained more confidence, and more freedom, but every effort was the result of hard work. Those who represent Mr. Blaine as accomplishing easily the results reached by him do injustice to his character. Every political address made by him was always a subject of thought, reading, and study. During this campaign he learned to meet the unexpected, which came often in the form of interruptions. In this his nimbleness and his readiness came to his aid, and the store of general information possessed by him supplied him often with an answer where a more experienced speaker even might have been at fault. One of Mr. Blaine's most noted triumphs at this time was a little effect produced at a meeting in the town of Waterville, Maine. This was then a great Democratic stronghold. A certain local leader, Gideon Welles, had a habit of interrupting any public speaker opposed to his party views. Mr. Blaine had been warned to



WALKER BLAINE.

keep away from Waterville for the reason that he was new to public speaking, and that he would probably meet there with such embarrassment as to break him down, and produce a bad effect. He determined, however, to go. He was allowed to go on with his address, which was directed in the main against the institution of slavery. In the midst of his address he was interrupted by Welles who, with apparent consideration, begged leave to interrupt the speaker for the purpose of asking a question. Mr. Blaine at once yielded. He was then asked if George Washington was not considered the model citizen of his country, and if he were not a slaveholder. The crowd was now on the alert for the answer to what seemed to them a most formidable question. Mr. Blaine rose to his full height and said that he yielded to no one in his respect and veneration for the memory of George Washington. He then added, with a sudden change of manner, "but even he manumitted his slaves before he dared to enter the presence of his Maker." The local leader was not aware of this small historical fact, and as Mr. Blaine was shrewd enough to close his speech with this climax, the result was a great demonstration in his favor, and the local Democrat in question became afterward one of his most fervent supporters.

Mr. Blaine showed in the political field a great

aptitude. He learned in time how best to convince and persuade an audience. He was actively engaged in every political campaign following 1856, and although modest in his demeanor, pushed himself resolutely to the front for the purpose of gaining experience and knowledge. In 1858 he was elected a member of the Maine house of Representatives, from Augusta. He now made a careful study of the parliamentary rules. Those who are fond of picturing Mr. Blaine as a child of genius to whom everything was given almost for the asking could profitably study the early steps of his career. He was a constant student of public questions. He aimed to make himself an authority on the issues of the day, and when he was elected to the Legislature of Maine he began at once the study of its rules, so as to be a master of its methods of procedure. Such a course would soon give prominence to any man of talent. The average member of any Legislature is indolent and not given to study. He trusts too much to chance information, and is indifferent to details, the knowledge of which is necessary to rise to eminence in any legislative body. Knowledge and special preparation tell here as they do in any pursuit of life. Mr. Blaine's aptitude, his facility for acquiring special knowledge, and his real liking for the discussion of parliamentary questions soon made him the

possessor of a thorough knowledge of the manual. It was this knowledge that formed the basis for his election as Speaker of the House two years later. He was re-elected. His two terms as Speaker, and his four years in the Legislature made a valuable preliminary training to fit him for the honor which was conferred upon him later by the National House of Representatives. In addition to his special ability as a parliamentarian Mr. Blaine had unusual tact and knowledge of men. His control of the House was always good. As a presiding officer he was never much of a partisan. He aimed always to have even more than the appearance of fairness.

His first speech in the Legislature was in reply to Frederick A. Pike, afterward a member of Congress from Maine, in regard to the payment of members. Mr. Blaine argued that they should receive a fixed salary instead of a payment based on time of service. His proposition was adopted, and afterward became a part of the State Constitution. A speech of more general interest was on a proposition emanating from Congress, and favoring the acquisition of Cuba by the United States. This measure was strongly opposed by Mr. Blaine as inexpedient and unjust, forming a dangerous precedent for the National Government to adopt.

“The proposition,” he said, “to place thirty mil-

lions of dollars at the disposal of the President, and to run the Nation in debt for the purpose of raising the money ; to surrender to him the power to make treaties, annex territories, and form States ; to create him absolute dictator with the purse of the Nation in one hand and the sword in the other ; to have peace or war, prosperity or misfortune, follow at his will, or be decided by his errors—such a proposition, I say, is too monstrous to be entertained for one moment by any one who values the preservation of constitutional right and the perpetuity of a Republican Union. A dozen years ago, when our country was in actual war with the neighboring nations, when it was supposed that peace could be promoted and hastened by placing three millions at the disposal of the President, the proposition was regarded as so dangerous that staid, conservative, and dignified Senators thought themselves justified in resorting to methods of opposition almost revolutionary in their character, in order to compass its defeat. But now, when we are in profound amity and concord with all nations of the earth, it is deliberately proposed to place under the control of the President the enormous sum of thirty millions of dollars, in order to see whether he may not corrupt Spanish officials into a transfer of their most valuable dependency, and possibly get us into a war with England and France, as a sort of premium to



EMMONS BLAINE.

the value of Cuban acquisition. The proposition to place three millions at President Polk's disposal to get us out of war, as I have said, was considered doubtful and dangerous, and yet it is coolly proposed to give President Buchanan ten times as large a sum to see if in some kind of secret diplomacy he may not possibly be able to get us into a war. The Democratic party in Washington sustained both measures, the past and the present. But I think it a foolish species of political arithmetic that considers it worth three millions of dollars in 1847 to get us out of a war with a weak power and yet has no hesitancy to pay thirty millions in 1859 for the possibility of getting us into a war with three strong powers.

“The executive power of the country is sufficiently strong and overpowering already, without seeking to aggrandize and increase it by enormous grants of extra-constitutional power. Let us discountenance and repudiate this alarming measure as dangerous in itself, and not even tending to compass the object which is put forth as the pretext and excuse for it. Let us cease a fruitless and aimless agitation at home, which no one expects to result in practical good; and let us cease also to insult and menace that proud old Monarchy of Castile and Arragon, to which, as Mr. Buchanan asserts, ‘we are bound by ties of ancient friendship that we sincerely desire to render perpetual.’ ”

The proposition here so vigorously opposed, and which was in line with the persistent efforts of Southern Congressmen at that time to extend the domain of slavery, was defeated, and the members from Maine were instructed, as the will of their constituents, to do their utmost to defeat the measure in Congress.

In the summer of 1858 Mr. Blaine served as a member of the Republican Convention of Maine to nominate a candidate for Governor. Lot M. Morrill, of Augusta, was nominated. Mr. Blaine was made Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, and himself drafted the resolutions which were adopted. These were strongly in consonance with the principles of the Republican party, and indicated his own firmly fixed sentiments. They declared the determined hostility of the Maine Republicans to the insulting claims of the slave-holding aristocracy, and advocated the dignity, education, and elevation of labor. They further declared that the old questions of Federal supremacy and State-rights were deeply involved in the existing political contest, and that Republicans held to the doctrine of State-rights maintained by the fathers of the Constitution, that the liberties of the people would vanish when the State should become subordinate to the general government, and consolidation usurp the place of a fed-

erative union of essentially independent sovereignties. It went on to say that "The administration of James Buchanan has proved itself to be unworthy of the confidence of the American people by its course toward those who are struggling to establish free institutions in Kansas, which betrays a spirit more desperate and corrupt than that which animated the British King and ministers in their treatment of the American colonies which drew our fathers into war."

Before taking leave of Mr. Blaine's record as a legislator of Maine, it may be well to add the opinion of Governor Kent, who in writing of him, said: "Almost from the day of his assuming editorial charge of the *Kennebec Journal*, at the age of 23, Mr. Blaine sprang into a position of great influence in the politics and policy of Maine. At 25 he was a leading power in the councils of the party. Before he was 29 he was chosen chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican organization in Maine, a position from which he has shaped and directed political campaigns in the State, leading his party to brilliant victory. Had Mr. Blaine been New England born, he would probably not have received such rapid advancement at so early an age, even with the same ability that he possessed. But there was a sort of Western dash about him that took with us down-easters; an expression of frankness, candor, and con-

fidence that gave him, from the start, a very strong and permanent hold on our people, and, as the foundation of all, pure character and a masterly ability equal to all demands made upon him."

The most notable speech made by Mr. Blaine during his term of office in the Maine Legislature was upon the war power of Congress involved in the question of confiscation of rebel property. This discussion was brought up upon the consideration of a series of resolutions indorsing the administration of Abraham Lincoln. This speech showed the rapid maturing of Mr. Blaine's mind. In its argument and presentation of the facts of the situation it was fully the equal of the best arguments in the National House of Representatives at that time. It showed a knowledge of law, of politics, and of the Constitution of the United States and its powers which were the proofs of diligent hours of hard work in the library. It was this speech, perhaps, which made Mr. Blaine's promotion to the National House of Representatives certain. This speech was delivered during the close of his service as a member of the Legislature. It represented the culmination of his work and experience at that time. It was delivered during a discussion which took place upon the 7th of March, 1862. This speech of Mr. Blaine shows an unswerving devotion to the cause

of the Union, an unqualified indorsement of Mr. Lincoln, and a complete appreciation of the high character and great abilities of the President, who was at that early time anything but understood and appreciated by the majority of people in the North.

It was this speech which first called Mr. Lincoln's attention to Mr. Blaine. When Mr. Blaine came to the National House, he was at once brought in close contact with Mr. Lincoln, and the latter expressed as high an appreciation of his abilities. Mr. Lincoln correctly foreshadowed Mr. Blaine's future rise and prominence.

Nearly all of Mr. Blaine's convictions concerning politics were formed before leaving Maine. In accepting his first nomination to Congress, he outlined his adherence to the protective policy and his opposition to free trade. His days in Maine were busy ones. The campaign following the Fremont Convention was exciting. Mr. Blaine, in his devotion to the study of politics, attended the Chicago Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln, as a delegate. He went there in the interest of Mr. Lincoln, and divided the Maine delegation. He became acquainted in Chicago with Wm. M. Evarts, for whom he afterward always had a sincere admiration. Mr. Evarts led the Seward forces, but even Mr. Evarts' arguments could not convince Mr. Blaine. He came

home from Chicago fired with enthusiasm over the success of his candidate.

He was always in great demand in the local campaigns. The local committeemen of Maine would always say to the State managers in calling for speakers, "Send us Blaine." Mr. Blaine had always a good memory for names and faces. This faculty he cultivated, and in time it came to be remarkable. Apparently he never forgot a name nor a face, but of course the stories concerning this ability have always been exaggerated. He, however, did to an unusual degree possess the power to call to mind names and faces which would have made no impression upon an ordinary memory. This gift added greatly to his popularity. Mr. Blaine was always anxious to please, and that is half the art of pleasing.

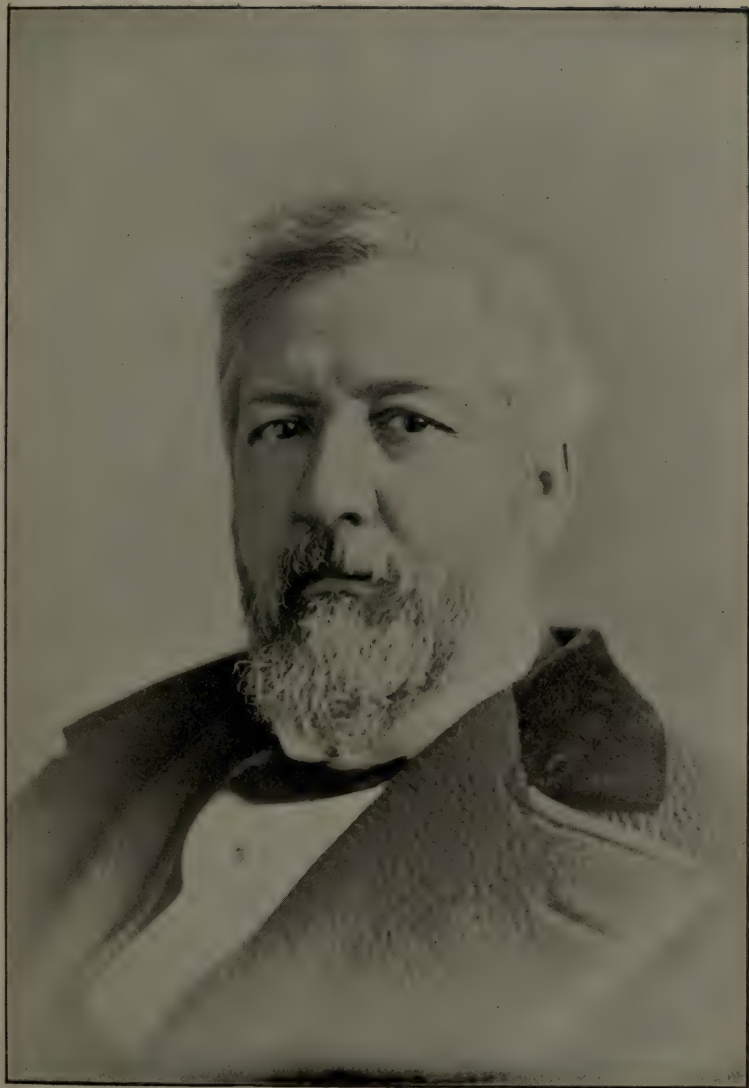
CHAPTER V.

A GLANCE AT THE LEADING PERSONALITIES IN CONGRESS WHEN MR. BLAINE FIRST TOOK HIS SEAT IN THE HOUSE.

MR. BLAINE was elected to the Thirty-eighth Congress in the fall of 1862. He succeeded Anson P. Morrill, who had served one term and who voluntarily declined to be a candidate for re-election on account of the necessity of attending to his private business. It was a very troublesome time. The Federal Government at Washington had made but little headway in subduing the Rebellion. The North was not yet united in a firm support of Mr. Lincoln's government. The expenditures of the war were already assuming enormous proportions. Congress had before it new questions of finance and taxation. It was called upon almost daily to support by some new means the Armies of the Union. It was a time when the best men were being selected throughout the country for the National councils. The list of names of the House to which Mr. Blaine was first elected shows a remarkable array of talented men who afterward acquired great

prominence. The House in the Thirty-eighth Congress was elected during the period of dissatisfaction. There had been a series of defeats for the Union arms. The Confederacy appeared everywhere triumphant, and there was already beginning that back-fire from the North which sorely tried Mr. Lincoln's prudence and ability during the following summer.

The pro-slavery, now disunion or peace-at-any-price, Democrats throughout the North were very much encouraged by the result of the Congressional elections. The administration majority was sensibly diminished. Among the more conspicuous members of the preceding house who had failed in their re-election were Roscoe Conkling, A. B. Olin, E. G. Spaulding, and Charles B. Sedgwick, of New York. Ohio refused to return John A. Bingham and Samuel Shellabarger. Galusha A. Grow had failed of re-election in Pennsylvania. Albert G. Porter and McKee Dunn in Indiana had Democratic successors. Mr. Conkling, who was afterward to play such a conspicuous part in Mr. Blaine's political history, was elected to the following Congress (the 39th), being out only one term. Mr. Bingham and Mr. Shellabarger, under the tidal wave of the Union victories of '63, were again restored to their places in the House. Mr. Bingham, a hawk-nosed, fiery-eyed, resolute man of middle life, was afterward to be dis-



MR. BLAINE AT FIFTY.
Secretary of State in the Garfield Cabinet.

tinguished in his conduct of the impeachment case, upon the part of the House, against Andrew Johnson, and later was to go as Minister to Japan. Mr. Shellabarger was to conduct an elaborate investigation into the building of the Pacific railroads and to establish himself as a corporation lawyer in Washington. Among the conspicuous additions in the Thirty-eighth Congress to the House of known and tried men were Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, and Robert C. Schenck, of Ohio. Mr. Davis had served in the House as a member of the American party in 1854. He had been re-elected for the two succeeding terms, but had failed to be re-elected to the Thirty-seventh Congress. He had not been identified with the Republican party prior to the Rebellion, and had advocated the election of Mr. Bell in the Presidential campaign for 1860. Mr. Blaine, in his personal notes of the members with whom he was first associated, says of Mr. Davis: "As a debater in the House, Mr. Davis may be well cited as an exemplar. He had no boastful reliance upon intuition, or inspiration, or the spur of the moment. Though no man excelled him in extempore speech, he made elaborate preparation by the study of all public questions, and spoke from a full mind with complete command of premise and conclusion. In all that pertained to the graces of oratory he was unrivalled. He died at forty-eight.

Had he been blessed with length of days, the friends who best knew his ability and his ambition believed that he would have left the most brilliant name in the parliamentary annals of America."

It is in this description that one can see Mr. Blaine's own standard of parliamentary requirements. As near as possible these words of description properly applied to his own case. Few new members have come to their work so well fitted and so well prepared for the transaction of their public duties as did Mr. Blaine.

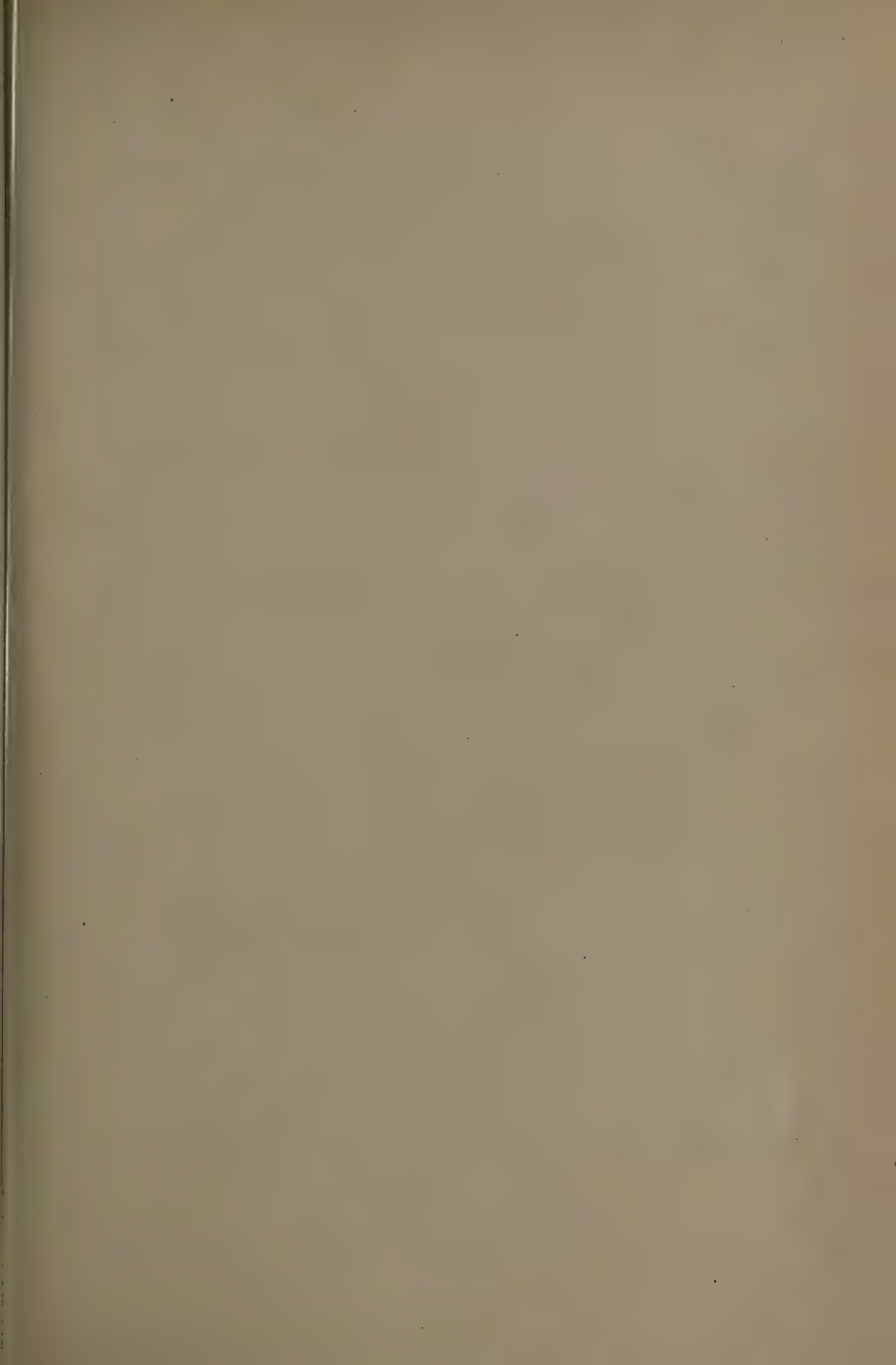
The great leader of the House had been up to that time Thaddeus Stevens. Mr. Robert C. Schenck, who had been elected to this Congress, took precedence of Mr. Stevens through his experience, his ability, and official positions assigned him by Speaker Colfax. He was made Chairman of the Military Committee, a position at that time of transcendent importance, and was also placed at the head of the Ways and Means Committee. Mr. Schenck was a man of vast acquirements, great political experience, sturdy physical health, and a fund of plain common sense which never failed him. He came to the House fresh from a personal victory over Mr. Vallandigham, the idol of the pro-slavery Democrats in Ohio. Mr. Schenck had defeated the latter in an overwhelmingly Democratic district. He had had eight years pre-

vious experience in the House, beginning his term of service in 1843. He had afterward served as Minister, representing President Fillmore in Brazil. At the expiration of that service he had been in private life until his election to the Thirty-eighth Congress. He had unusual administrative abilities. He was a man of but few words and with great aptitude for dispatching great masses of detailed work. His powers of industry were enormous, and his physical reserve almost inexhaustible. He never made any long speeches in the presentation of the many important war measures which passed through his hands. He was noted for his five-minute speeches. In these speeches he would place more compact, clear, well-digested information than would be found in the most elaborate addresses of his associates. Mr. Schenck had a tall, powerful figure. His shoulders were broad and his chest deep. He was large in every way. His feet, hands, and features were all of a heavy mold. He bore in his face a great resemblance to General Grant, although they were wholly different in complexion. He had the same stolidity of countenance, and the same general cast of features, while the resemblance was increased by the short, reddish-brown beard and mustache, which were closely trimmed in the fashion always observed by General Grant. The two men had much in common.

They were both given to deeds rather than words. Mr. Schenck was sent by General Grant when he was President, as Minister to England. This was the last public office held by Mr. Schenck.

When Mr. Blaine was sworn in, he was accompanied to his place in front of the Speaker, where the oath was administered, by two members, whom he had met for the first time upon his arrival at Washington. They were James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and William B. Allison, of Iowa. The political fortunes of these two gentlemen were ever afterward intertwined with that of Mr. Blaine. Mr. Garfield, who stood upon his right, was to become his most intimate friend in the House, and afterward follow him to the Senate, after which he was to be elected President of the United States, and to place the chance acquaintance of this day at the head of his Cabinet. It would have taken a lively imagination to have foreshadowed the possibilities growing out of the accidental association upon this opening day, between the new member from Maine and the new member from Ohio. Mr. Allison, upon his left, was to serve with him in the House, and in the Senate, and to remain a trusted friend and close adviser through life.

Mr. Garfield was then in the perfection of his intellectual and physical powers. He had had an experience in the Ohio Legislature very similar to that of Mr. Blaine's in Maine. In addition he had been





JAMES A. GARFIELD
(The Martyr President)

broadened out and greatly developed by two years of military experience. He had risen to the rank of a major-general and had an air of confidence and command natural to one who had been successful in the school of war. Mr. Garfield had been elected to the House while he was engaged in active military service. He was much embarrassed when the news of his election came, as he thought that some of his military comrades might think that he was anxious to avoid the further dangers of the war. During his hesitation he advised with both Mr. Lincoln and Secretary Stanton. They decided the matter for him without hesitation. They said that he could render a higher service in the House. There the administration was being torn and tortured by its enemies, they seeking by every possible argument under the cover of States' rights and professed regard for the Constitution to harass the work of the Government and to weaken the source of supplies of the Union Army. Nothing better is recorded of Thaddeus Stevens than when a States' Rights Democrat said to him in the debates of the House that such and such an act was outside of the Constitution of the United States, he replied that he should not controvert that assertion. The war was outside of the Constitution and "to subdue it," he added, "we have been outside the Constitution ever since the war began."

The case of General Garfield mentioned above recalls a somewhat similar decision in the case of Mr. Blaine. The Thirty-seventh Congress had passed a conscription law, and through an oversight Senators and Members were not exempted from its provisions, although members of legislative bodies the world over have always been made exempt from such laws. In the drawing at Augusta under the new law Mr. Blaine's name was one of the first to come out. He at once, under the advice, and almost commands, of Mr. Lincoln purchased a substitute, and remained at his post of duty in the House. Some of his critics later have laid partisan emphasis upon the fact that he did not resign his seat, shoulder a musket, and go to the war as a private. Mr. Blaine thought that he could be of more service in the closely-contested House where the administration majority needed the best ability of its members to carry through the measures vital to the success of the war, and no one possessing the rudiments of common sense would question the propriety of his course.

It is interesting to look over the list of the members who were associated with Mr. Blaine during his first term. From Connecticut come James E. English, who afterward served in the United States Senate. From Illinois were John F. Farnsworth, tall,

energetic, and active, always inclined to independence of view, rather than to the opinion of a partisan, and Eben C. Ingersoll, the brother of Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, who succeeded Owen Lovejoy. Mr. Eben C. Ingersoll's association in the House with Mr. Blaine led to the latter's acquaintance with Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll and the subsequent brilliant address of Colonel Ingersoll nominating Mr. Blaine for the Presidency in the National Convention held at Cincinnati in 1876. Elihu B. Washburn came also from this State. He was afterward to be Minister at Paris during the Franco-Prussian War and to throw the shelter of our flag around an asylum for the thousands who flocked to our legation for protection during the siege of Paris and the terrors of the Commune which followed.

From Indiana came Schuyler Colfax, who was elected Speaker of that House after a preliminary service in the House of eight years, and who was afterward to be Vice-President of the United States and then to be retired through the disclosures of the Credit-Mobilier Investigating Committee. William S. Holman, from the same State, had already served two terms and had made a reputation for himself as an economist. He began even then to object. He objected to all of the expenditures of the war. He scrutinized carefully the items of money

appropriated, and examined every detail of the acts of the Government with a Constitution in one hand and a bill of estimates in the other. He constantly objected, and it is on this platform of objection that he has remained almost continuously in Congress, with but brief periods of retirement, up to the present day. The brilliant George W. Julian, Godlove S. Orth, and the silver-tongued Daniel W. Voorhees were also members of this delegation. Mr. Orth was to afterward serve as Minister to Vienna, while Mr. Voorhees was to remain in the House until the expiration of the Forty-third Congress and to succeed in the United States Senate the war Governor, Oliver P. Morton. Mr. Voorhees began his career in the preceding Congress. He was of the class of public men sent up to Congress during the war. They were tall, with great physical frames and uncommon powers as debaters and orators, acquired in the fierce and forceful campaigns of this stormy and passion-tossed period.

From Iowa the men of future national reputation were William B. Allison, already mentioned, John A. Kasson, Hiram Price, and James F. Wilson. Mr. Allison from the first devoted himself to financial topics. He made himself one of the House authorities. He served in the House until the Forty-first Congress, when he went to the Senate, where he has

since remained. Mr. Kasson was afterward to become conspicuous in the field of diplomacy, one of the few American diplomats to possess a knowledge of modern languages. The Quaker dress and austere face of Hiram Price were to be conspicuous in the House for many years. Mr. Wilson was to serve after his preliminary years in the House, in the Senate, where he now is.

From Maryland came John A. J. Creswell, a future Postmaster-General under General Grant's administration, and the brilliant Henry Winter Davis, the right-hand man of Mr. Schenck in conducting and pushing the business of the House.

From Massachusetts were John B. Alley, Oakes Ames, George S. Boutwell, Henry L. Dawes, and Samuel Hooper. Mr. Alley was even then a rich man, and later, through his relations with Oakes Ames in the construction of the Pacific railroads, was to become one of the great millionaires of the country. Oakes Ames was one of the great characters of the House. He was not a speaker. He was devoted to the business of the committees, and showed there his abilities as an administrator. His broad, rugged face indicated honesty, great simplicity of purpose, and reserve. It was he who formed the Credit-Mobilier Construction Company, which made so much money in the building of the Pacific rail-

roads. Mr. Ames was associated with his brother Oliver. They went into this railroad enterprise at a time when the conservative capitalists of the East stood aloof from the undertaking. It was argued that the country was too new for opening up, and that the whole enterprise must fail for lack of support, notwithstanding the liberal assistance given to it by the Government. The two Ames pledged their private fortunes, assumed enormous risks, and their profits in the end were great. Oakes Ames sought to benefit some of his old associates in Congress at a time when he saw that the enterprise was going to succeed. He had no ulterior motive, but out of his semi-benevolence grew the great Credit-Mobilier scandal. Mr. Boutwell, who afterward moved up to the United States Senate, was to be Secretary of the Treasury under President Grant. Mr. Dawes, who became conspicuous as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, was to be rewarded with a long term of service in the Senate. Samuel Hooper, another one of the rich men of the Massachusetts delegation, was to have his fortune greatly increased by investments in the Pacific railroad enterprises.

From Minnesota came the rotund, bullet-headed, smooth-shaven, innocent-eyed Ignatius Donnelly, who ever dwells in a tempest of theories, and who was to attempt to reform the world and the adminis-

tration of affairs by means of numerous party organizations and still more numerous pamphlet publications, and who had not yet reached the beginning of his cryptogram theory concerning the authorship of Shakespeare's plays. Wm. Windom, from this State, became an intimate friend of Mr. Garfield, and through the associations formed in this House was afterward to be the latter's Secretary of the Treasury. He was to go to the Senate from the House for a long term prior to his becoming a Cabinet member. He was to serve twice as Secretary of the Treasury, and to die in that office under President Harrison.

From Missouri was the fiery Francis P. Blair, Jr., who was so conspicuous in future political campaigns.

From New York were James Brooks, Reuben E. Fenton, Francis Kernan, Benjamin Wood, and Fernando Wood. Mr. Fenton and Mr. Kernan were afterward to be members of the Senate. James Brooks who was conspicuous through his being the editor of one of the leading papers of New York, was to be dragged into the clutches of the Credit-Mobilier investigation soon after, and was then a little later to die under the shadow of the House reprimand. Fernando Wood, whose courtly manners and whose stately figure made him conspicuous on the Democratic side, was to be there one of its most

forceful leaders for many years. He was socially much attached to Mr. Blaine, and was nearly his next-door neighbor during a number of years in Washington.

From Ohio, besides General Garfield, were James M. Ashley, Samuel S. Cox, George H. Pendleton, and Robert C. Schenck, already mentioned. Mr. Ashley was to go down to posterity in connection with the presentation of the first impeachment resolutions, against President Johnson. Mr. Cox was to be the thorn in the Republican side of the House for more than a quarter of a century. His lively wit, his pungent style and general ability and acquirements were to lighten many a serious and heavy debate. He was afterward to transfer his allegiance to New York, where he was to receive continued support and leave behind him a reputation and a memory which warranted the city's building for him a bronze statue in one of its public places. As a close to his public services, he was to be sent as Minister to Turkey. Mr. Pendleton was one of the most kindly, polished and well instructed of men. He, unfortunately for his reputation, adhered to the narrowest of States' Rights construction of all questions, and was an active opponent of all the war measures proposed by the Lincoln administration. He was to be equally wrong on the financial questions of the day, and to become

an advocate of greenbackism. He, too, was among the many others who were promoted to the Senate, and finished his public career abroad as Minister, serving as Minister to Berlin, under Mr. Cleveland.

From Pennsylvania, were William D. Kelley, Samuel J. Randall, Charles O'Neill, Glenni W. Schofield, and Thaddeus Stevens. Mr. Kelley served for nearly a quarter of a century, as the special advocate of the protective policy of the Republican party. Mr. Randall was to become the great leader on the Democratic side of the House, and afterward to serve as Speaker. Charles O'Neill was to remain continuously in the House as a representative of the business interests of Pennsylvania up to the present day. Mr. Schofield was to be conspicuous in other official positions, and was to become one of the pillars of his party. He was to be one of the fifteen judges who sat on the Electoral Commission to settle the disputed election of 1876.

From Vermont, was Justin S. Morrill, the author of the Morrill Tariff bill, which is to-day the base, with certain modifications, of the American protective system.

From Wisconsin, was Charles A. Eldridge, who became one of the ablest debaters and parliamentarians on the Democratic side.

In the Senate, the list of notables is long. Of

these men only one Senator, John Sherman, to-day remains in the Senate. At no period has the Senate contained a greater number of intellectual giants than during this period. This will be apparent to any one at all familiar with the political history of this country, in reading a list which includes such names as Lot M. Morrill, William Pitt Fessenden, John P. Hale, Solomon Foot, Jacob Collamer, Henry Wilson, Charles Sumner, Henry B. Anthony, Charles R. Buckalew, James A. Bayard, Reverdy Johnson, Garrett Davis, John Sherman, Benjamin F. Wade, Henry S. Lane, Thomas A. Hendricks, Lyman Trumbull, Zachariah Chandler, James Harlan, James W. Grimes, James R. Doolittle, Timothy O. Howe, James A. McDougall, Alexander Ramsay, James H. Lane, and James W. Nesmith.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST SESSION OF THE THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS,
AND MR. BLAINE'S FIRST NOTABLE SPEECH AT WASH-
INGTON.

THE Thirty-eighth Congress met under much more favorable conditions than had preceded its election. If the election could have taken place in the fall prior to the meeting of the House, the administration would have had an overwhelming majority. The people who opposed the war and who were for peace at any price, had reduced the administration's majority to such an extent in the fall election of 1862 that they entered the year of 1863 with greater energy and increased strength. The movement begun by Mr. Vallandigham in Ohio, if it had not been frustrated by the superior tactics of Mr. Lincoln, might have created a rebellion in the North. No better illustration could be given of the absurdity of having a House elected one year in advance of its taking office. It is rare that the National House when it meets represents public sentiment. The summer of 1863 was a fortunate one for the Union cause. The humiliating defeats of the Union arms during 1862

had caused great distrust. The proposed advance of Lee, early in 1863, upon the North, increased this distrust and fear. The great victory at Gettysburg, and General Lee's defeat came just in time to re-establish the Union cause. It was the turning-point of the war. The rejoicings over Gettysburg were just begun when the news of the capture of Vicksburg was telegraphed to the President. The Fourth of July of that year was the day on which the celebration of these two victories took place. The tide of enthusiasm which followed the great victories of the Federal army would have elected an overwhelming majority for the House which met that winter if the date of its election could have been changed.

The House in which Mr. Blaine first served met on the 7th of December, 1863. The House had then one hundred and eighty-six members. Of these, seventy-five were Democrats, nine were "Border State" men, and one hundred and two Republicans. The Senate was overwhelmingly Republican, having thirty-six Republicans and fourteen Democrats.

The previous Congress had passed the legislation necessary for the formation of the army and for the extension of the military powers of the government. Many of these acts necessitated a very free construction of the Constitution, and were passed under the plea of military necessity. It passed also

the Conscription Act, one of the most sweeping that ever was enacted in this country. The appropriations for the year 1862 reached the enormous sum of \$972,000,000.

The Thirty-eighth Congress had before it the financial problems involved in meeting the enormous expense of the war. These expenses were now in the neighborhood of two millions of dollars a day. In the first session was passed the Internal Revenue Law which was to bring in a great revenue from a tax on whisky, tobacco, and a number of small domestic articles. This included the Income Tax Law, the levying of a tax of five per cent. on incomes of over \$600, and which provided further for the stamping of notes, documents, and agreements. This income tax and the stamp tax were even then very unpopular.

The position occupied by Mr. Blaine as a new member was a modest one. He was made a member of the Committee of Post-Offices and Post Roads, and the Committee on Militia. He was then in the prime of physical health. He had apparently a constitution of iron. His habits were then, as ever, simple. He devoted his leisure to the continued study of the public questions of the day. He was always in his seat in the House, and carefully followed the debates of that time. During the winter

he said but little. His first notable speech was made during the late spring of this session. His subject was—"Can a country sustain the expense of the war and pay the debt which it will involve?" Mr. Blaine then boldly advocated the assumption upon the part of the National Government of the debts incurred by the States for the prosecution of the war. This speech was a wholesome, business-like statement of the finances of the government, and in its clearness and strength of tone did much to reassure the public mind, which was at that time much agitated at the enormous debt which was being piled up by the conduct of the war. The National Republican Committee circulated 200,000 copies of this speech. This address, which did much to give Mr. Blaine a national reputation, is remarkable for its view of the future. Mr. Blaine first addressed himself to the common illusion that the war was to be ended in a short time. He advised all to avoid self-deception upon this subject, and to look soberly at the facts. He based the calculations which he submitted upon a belief that the war might be continued until as late as July, 1865, while the majority of speakers in the House at that time held that the Rebellion would not be continued beyond the month of July, 1864. Mr. Blaine assumed that the rebel leaders would continue the struggle until after the Presiden-

tial election of 1864. In this his prediction proved correct, and the final surrender of the rebel army was made only a very few months before the date set by Mr. Blaine. His estimate of the expenditures necessary for the subduing of the Rebellion, taking the date mentioned by him as the possible period of its close, proved when the war closed to be suprisingly accurate. His outside estimate was, in round numbers, three thousand millions of dollars, while from the figures of the Secretary of the Treasury, without any allowance for extra expenditures, his minimum calculation reached twenty-five hundred millions.

Mr. Blaine showed that even this great national debt was one that could be easily borne by the country, and was not greater in proportion than the debt assumed by our government at the time it was founded in 1779. Then, with a population of only four millions, Mr. Jefferson did not distrust the ability of the nation to bear a debt of ninety millions upon a valuation of property which did not exceed six hundred millions of dollars. The debt assumed then was practically one-seventh of the property valuation, and Mr. Jefferson said that this debt could be easily borne if the increase of the value of property for the future should be only five per cent. Mr. Blaine was able to show that the

country's increase was so rapid even under the unfavorable conditions of that early period that the interest was promptly paid on this debt and a fund quickly accumulated for the redemption of the whole amount. Mr. Blaine was also able to show that Great Britain, at the close of the Napoleonic wars, which culminated at Waterloo, had assumed a vastly greater debt in proportion to its population and property than would the United States for the putting down of the Rebellion. The subsequent prosperity of Great Britain made its public debt a matter of easy payment and adjustment. Mr. Blaine said, in closing, "The war closing in 1865 will leave us in this condition: A nation numbering some thirty-three millions of people owning over sixteen thousand millions of property and carrying a debt of twenty-five hundred millions of dollars. The proportion between debt and property will be just about the same that it was when the Union was formed, while the ratio of our advance and the largely enhanced productiveness of agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial pursuits gives the present generation an advantage that renders the debt far less burdensome than at the very outset. If the Revolutionary debt became in a very brief period so light as to be unnoticed, why may we not, with a vastly accelerated ratio of progress, assume a similar auspicious



GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN.

result with regard to the debt we are now contracting?"

Mr. Blaine's predictions concerning the ability of this country to easily carry the war debt were verified to the very letter. His picture of the future power and prosperity of this country was very graphic. In his close he said: "Our facilities for commerce and exchange, both domestic and foreign, who shall measure them? Our oceans, our vast inland seas, our marvelous flow of navigable streams, our canals, our network of railroads, more than thirty thousand miles in extent, these give us avenues of trade and channels of communication both natural and artificial such as no other nation has ever enjoyed and which tend to the production of wealth with a rapidity not to be measured by any standard of the past. The enormous field for manufacturing industry in all its complex and endless variety, with our raw material, our wonderful motive-power, both by water and steam, our healthful climate, our cheap carriage, our home consumption, our foreign demand foreshadows a traffic whose magnitude and whose profit cannot now be estimated. Our mines of gold and silver, and iron, and copper, and lead, and coal, with their untold and unimaginable wealth, spread over millions of acres of territory in the valley, on the mountain side, along rivers, yield-

ing already a rich harvest, are destined yet to increase a thousand-fold until their every-day treasures,

“Familiar grown
Shall realize Orient’s fabled wealth.

“These are the great elements of material progress, and they comprehend the entire circle of human enterprise—agriculture, commerce, manufactures, mining. They assure to us an increase in property and population that will surpass the most sanguine deductions of our census tables, framed as those tables are upon the ratios and relations of our progress in the past. They give into our hands under the blessing of Almighty God the power to command our fate as a nation. They hold out to us the grandest future reserved for any people, and with this promise they teach us the lesson of patience and render confidence and fortitude a duty. With such amplitude and affluence of resources, and with such a vast stake at issue, we should be unworthy of our lineage and our inheritance if we for one moment distrusted our ability to maintain ourselves a united people with ‘one country, one Constitution, one destiny.’”

This speech is remarkable for its spirit of lofty patriotism, its breadth of view, and the supreme confidence it displayed in the future power of this nation. Mr. Blaine was then thirty-four years of age. The

speech was delivered during the doubtful days of the war. Rebellion was everywhere still holding its own. A successful general for the Army of the Potomac had not been found. Discord reigned in many of the councils of the administration. Disunion sentiments were freely uttered throughout the North, and it required a very stout heart and very clear vision to see what Mr. Blaine so graphically describes in this first real speech in his career as a member of Congress. It was a speech which secured the commendation of Thaddeus Stevens, who said that "No man had come to Congress during his term of Congress who surpassed Mr. Blaine for the higher walks of public life." It was warmly commended by Mr. Lincoln, and it moved Mr. Blaine up among the members of the first rank in the House.

Though generally silent during his first term in Congress, he spoke briefly on a variety of bills, including those for the adjustment of the revenue, the tariff for protection, the law for fugitive slaves, and various other topics; his speeches on these subjects were short and crisp, yet always those of a man who never spoke till he had something to say, and never without a full comprehension of his subject.

As a member of the Post-office Committee, Mr. Blaine was diligent and progressive, and took an active part in establishing the system of postal cars

which have since been found of such high utility. Before that time there had been little effort at distribution of the mail on the cars, and the appropriation necessary was only obtained with difficulty. The value of the results amply testifies to the sound judgment of those who first proposed this innovation.

In June, 1864, the need of men to fill the depleted ranks of the armies in the field led to the advocacy of a conscription bill of merciless character and providing harsh measures toward citizens who had not enlisted. This bill Mr. Blaine strongly opposed, declaring that it had never been surpassed for stringency even in the wars of the first Napoleon, and was out of all consonance with the principles of a republican government.

In nothing was Mr. Blaine's clearness of political vision more correctly shown than in his early advocacy of the candidacy of Abraham Lincoln. From the beginning of his public career in the House until its close he was on the side of questions which were ultimately determined in his favor. He was not led aside by any of the delusions of the day. He was particularly clear on all questions of a financial character. This is all the more to his credit because the great questions of finance, so far as they related to this country, were then new, and the public, to a certain extent, had to be educated to correct think-

ing. The delusions favoring cheap money are not yet wholly extinguished, but Mr. Blaine has done as much as any one public man for their correction.

Regarding his intimacy at this time with President Lincoln, Mr. Ward H. Lamon, who was then Marshal of the District of Columbia, Mr. Lincoln's biographer and special friend, says: "I know those who were Mr. Lincoln's friends and those who were plotting against him, and I am sure that there was no one among the younger members of Congress on more intimate, cordial, and confidential terms with him than Mr. Blaine, nor was there any one more implicitly trusted by Mr. Lincoln. When the movement was made against Mr. Lincoln in the winter preceding the campaign of 1864, Mr. Blaine was the person with whom Mr. Lincoln constantly conferred about Maine. And I was present at a conference between the two when Mr. Lincoln requested Mr. Blaine to proceed to Maine and see if there was any adverse movement there. Mr. Lincoln became acquainted with Mr. Blaine in Illinois during his memorable campaign with Douglas in 1858. Mr. Blaine was corresponding from the scene of contest with his paper in Maine, and in one of his letters he predicted that Lincoln would be defeated for Senator by Douglas, but would beat Douglas for President in 1860. This letter was copied in several Illinois papers, and

Mr. Lincoln cut it out and carried it in his small memorandum-book until long after he was inaugurated as President. It naturally laid the foundation for cordial friendship between the two."

This picture of Mr. Lamon is intensely interesting, because it shows, in the first place, Mr. Blaine's journalistic sense. It is not reasonable to suppose that many weekly New England newspapers in that then distant part of the country went to the trouble and expense of sending a special correspondent to report the proceedings of this most eventful campaign. From it one can also learn how the young Maine editor acquired so early a knowledge of Mr. Lincoln's abilities and why he should have become so devoted to him and his cause in the National Convention of 1860, at Chicago. This friendship existing between the two men had another after-effect not generally emphasized. It was the friendship that Mr. Blaine had for Abraham Lincoln which led him to suggest to President Garfield the selection of Robert T. Lincoln for a place in his cabinet, and again later Mr. Blaine, when Secretary of State under President Harrison, sent Mr. Lincoln as Minister to England. The second Mr. Lincoln owes his public prominence almost entirely to Mr. Blaine, although his capacity and his abilities to fill the places given him are unquestioned.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE SECOND SESSION OF THE THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.—CORRECTING THE FINANCIAL THEORIES OF THADDEUS STEVENS.

THE campaign preceding the Presidential election of 1864 was an interesting one. Maine, with its early election, was an important State. It was deemed important to poll there as large a vote as possible for its influence on the States holding their elections later. The great successes of the Union arms and the lamentable conclusion of the Chicago Democratic Convention, that the war was a failure, preceding the most brilliant victories of the war, made the campaign an easy one for the Republicans. Mr. Blaine made a number of speeches, the most important of which was delivered on the 5th of September, preceding the Monday of the election. This speech contained a graphic comparison of the characters of General McClellan and President Lincoln. Following this comparison he said: "If we elect General McClellan we should apologize for the victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, forget the glories of the Chattanooga campaign, express regret for the valued

achievements of our navy, recall Grant from the splendid campaign he is waging against Lee in Virginia, and rebuke Sherman for having driven back the enemy from Atlanta." He added strength to this picture by saying, in another part of his address: "We have sacrificed thousands of valuable lives, have spent money by the thousands of millions, are pressing the Rebellion to its final retreat, are exhausting its last resources, and just when these Southern conspirators against the Union are in despair, the Democratic National Convention meets, and, in the name of their great and once honored party, demands that the war shall cease, that our troops shall be withdrawn, and that the proud people of this nation shall stand hat in hand and wade in humiliation and disgrace until the rebels prescribe the terms on which they will agree to govern us hereafter." This whole address was a common-sense, business-like exposition of the situation. There was no attempt at any so-called oratory or any impassioned flight.

Mr. Blaine was elected, with the State ticket, by a largely increased majority. He had been renominated for Congress without opposition. He was the unanimous choice of the Convention. It should be added here that Mr. Blaine was sent to Congress from this State for seven terms, and each time he was

unanimously renominated. Such a series of continued returns without opposition is without parallel in the history of any of our public men. The election in the State of Maine was an overwhelming endorsement of Mr. Lincoln, and so Mr. Blaine had a double triumph. The result in the State only foreshadowed the general result.

Great victory made the atmosphere of Washington very pleasant for the Republican members of the National House when they came together again in December. Mr. Blaine appeared more sure of himself in the second session. He again made one notable speech. This is all that any new member could reasonably expect to accomplish in any one session. Indeed he is more than fortunate if he is able to deliver one specially noteworthy speech during his entire first term. This speech of Mr. Blaine was on the subject of "The futility of attempting to equalize gold, silver, and paper money by legislation." It was in opposition to the veteran Thaddeus Stevens who was then one of the conspicuous powers of the House. Mr. Stevens had a very arbitrary disposition and an enormous force of character. He was just the man for his time in sustaining all of the extreme measures necessary for the successful carrying on of the war to subdue the Rebellion. But he must have had a strange warp in his mind when he thought

that the legislative power of Congress could be employed to the extent of enforcing a bill "to prevent gold and silver coin and bullion from being paid or exchanged for a greater value than their real current value and for preventing any note or bill issued by the United States and made lawful money and a legal tender from being received for a smaller sum than is therein specified."

In plain English, Mr. Stevens proposed by act of Congress to prevent the depreciation of greenbacks, and to forbid gold going to a premium. He would have found it as easy to control the tides of the sea by legislative power as to determine the value of the commodities which he sought to regulate. Such, however, was the lack of public education upon the subject of what could and could not be done by mere congressional enactment that Mr. Stevens had for a brief time a certain support for his measure. Mr. Blaine faced Mr. Stevens and talked to him, although many years younger than he, as a college professor might have talked to a raw student. He said: "The whole bill, sir, aims at what is simply impossible. You cannot by congressional enactment make a coin dollar worth less than it is, nor a paper dollar worth more than it is. I think we had experience enough in that direction with the famous gold bill at the last session. We passed that measure

after very severe pressure and with great promises as to the wonders it would work in Wall Street. It continued on the statute book for some twelve days—gold advancing at a rapid rate every day until its repeal was effected. The bill under consideration has already had a most pernicious effect and should it become a law no man can measure the degree of its hurtful influence.” The bill was soon after withdrawn as the arguments in its favor had no ground upon which to stand.

It was in February of this session that the House finally passed the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, which had failed at the last session to receive a two-thirds majority. This amendment was modeled upon the ordinance of 1787. After a struggle of nearly eighty years the principle of this ordinance became the law of the land. This was the amendment abolishing slavery within the jurisdiction of the United States. The second clause of this amendment, providing that Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation, was offered in the next Congress on the 16th of June, 1866, and declared in force upon the 28th of July, 1868.

It was in this same month of February that the House passed the bill authorizing the President to appoint a lieutenant-general in the army. This bill did not create a new office. It gave the President an opportunity to select a high officer for the supreme

command of all the armies of the United States. This special rank authorized by Congress in connection with the war of the Rebellion was first extended to Ulysses S. Grant.

Mr. Blaine, in his description of his first appearance in Congress, in his own history confines the declaration to exactly one line, "James G. Blaine entered from Maine at thirty-three years of age." His pen picture of the Speaker of that House is as follows: "Schuyler Colfax was specially fitted for the duties of the chair. He had been a member of the House for eight years, having been chosen directly after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He came from good Revolutionary stock in New Jersey, but had been reared in the West, had learned the trade of a printer and had edited a successful journal at South Bend. He was a paragon of industry with a keen, quick, bright intellect. He mingled freely and creditably in the debates. With the wisdom in which many able members seem deficient, he had given studious attention to the rules of the House and was master of their complexities. Kindly and cordial by nature, it was easy for him to cultivate the art of popularity, which he did with tact and constancy. He came to the chair with absolute good-will from both sides of the House, and as a presiding officer proved himself able, prompt, fair-minded, and just in all his rulings."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONSIDERATION OF THE GREAT ISSUES OF THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD.

THE Thirty-ninth Congress met under widely different circumstances than the preceding one, to which Mr. Blaine was first elected. Within a month after the adjournment of the Thirty-eighth Congress, General Lee had surrendered. The Rebellion had been crushed, and President Lincoln had fallen at the hands of Wilkes Booth, the assassin. Andrew Johnson was now at the head of the Government, and the entire change of policy which ensued made Congress the continued theatre of great feeling and bitterness, growing out of the reconstruction legislation. It was with difficulty that President Johnson was prevented from first inaugurating a policy of revenge, and then from wholly surrendering the Government to the late rebels.

It was during this Congress that Mr. Blaine had his celebrated difference with Mr. Conkling. Mr. Conkling came back to the Thirty-ninth Congress after having been retired for one term. The difference between these two gentlemen occurred during

the spring of the opening session. This episode was to have a marked influence upon Mr. Blaine's political career. No one could have at the time of the occurrence imagined the full after-effect of this incident. It made for Mr. Blaine a powerful and lifelong enemy, who upon several distinct occasions crossed effectively the pathway of his most ardent ambitions.

Mr. Blaine, in this Congress, was given positions upon the committees corresponding to the rank and power which he had gained in the previous Congress. He was placed on the Committee of Military Affairs, still the most important committee of the House. In the second session of the same Congress he was made Chairman of the Committee on the War Debts of Loyal States. He was eighth of the nine members composing the Military Committee. He was made second on the special committee appointed to represent Congress on the death of President Lincoln. Congress appointed one member from each State in the make-up of this committee. E. B. Washburne, of Illinois, was Chairman. This Congress met on the first Monday in December, 1865. Mr. Colfax was re-elected Speaker. The Democratic candidate against him was James Brooks, who received the complimentary vote of thirty-six. The Republicans had one hundred and thirty-nine members,

and a full majority of one hundred and three. Mr. Colfax, in again assuming the Chair, spoke of the duty of the Republican party in the field of legislation of Congress, now controlled by the Republican party. He said: "Its first and highest obligation is to guarantee to every State a Republican form of government; to establish the rebellious States anew on such a basis of enduring justice as will guarantee all safeguards to the people, and protection to all men in their inalienable rights." "In this great work," he continued, "the world should witness the most inflexible fidelity, the most earnest devotion to the principles of liberty and humanity, the truest patriotism, and the wisest statesmanship."

This was a lofty plan, but it would be assuming a great deal to declare that this plan has been carried out by the party to which it was proposed. Mr. Blaine throughout his congressional career has repeatedly called attention to the fact that Republican forms of government have been practically abolished in the South, and that the results of the war were practically nullified by the surrender to the former leaders of the Confederacy their State governments before an absolute guarantee of the rights of every citizen had been secured by something more than a pledge in the form of legislation. Following swiftly upon the organization of the House, Mr.

Thaddeus Stevens moved for the appointment of a joint Congressional Committee of fifteen members, nine from the House and six from the Senate, for the purpose of taking up the question of the reconstruction of the Southern States.

President Johnson then was following a policy of military governorship, and the first difference between him and Congress occurred upon this question of the rehabilitation of the South.

There was a feeling very soon engendered in Congress of great prejudice against the South. Washington then swarmed with ex-Confederate officers who were there unrepentant, glorying in their records of disloyalty, actively demanding seats in Congress to which they had been elected by constituents who had exhausted every resource to destroy the Government. They were not at all modest in pressing their claims, and came to the Capitol making demands instead of requests. This aggressiveness upon their part had roused the spirit of the Republican majority. These applicants for seats in the House were refused the courtesies of the floor, although it has been usual for Congress to extend this privilege to contestants for seats in that body.

There were not many changes in the *personnel* of the Thirty-ninth Congress. Nearly all of the leading members mentioned in the preceding chapter



HON. WILLIAM WALTER PHELPS

had been re-elected. In the Senate two vacancies occurred, one by the death of Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, whose temporary successor by appointment was Luke P. Poland. Mr. Poland was a gentleman of the old school—one of the handsomest and most picturesque members ever seen in Congress. His complexion was a dark clear olive. His eyes were intensely black. His nose was a pure Roman while the lower part of his face was shaped upon clear classical lines. Small, very white side whiskers set off his clear strong face. He wore the blue dress coat with brass buttons of the old school. His diamond-ornamented ruffled shirt frills, and his general attention to the details of his peculiar and precise dress gave him the appearance of a beau of the times of George the Third. He was a man of ability, a fine lawyer, and commanded the respect and appreciation of his associates. He was in the Senate but a few weeks, being succeeded by Justin S. Morrill. Mr. Poland was afterward to be sent to the House of Representatives, and to become the Chairman of the celebrated Credit-Mobilier Investigating Committee.

Eight days after the announcement of the death of Senator Collamer the death of his colleague, Senator Solomon Foot, was announced. Senator Foot was succeeded by George F. Edmunds, who made his appearance in this Congress, and remained con-

tinuously in the Senate until he voluntarily resigned his seat in 1891 on account of illness in his family, which required so much of his time as to incapacitate him from attending to his public duties. Mr. Edmunds has been a great figure during his quarter of a century of service in the Senate. He too has played an important part in Mr. Blaine's career, in that he has been, ever since 1876, the steadfast opponent of Mr. Blaine's Presidential aspirations. Mr. Edmunds is a tall, fine, distinguished-looking man, with a strong aquiline featured face. He had served in the Vermont Legislature, and had been the Speaker of its House. He had fine legal training, and was ranked as one of the first lawyers in the country. He was even at that time noted for his coolness, his great self-control, and for his keen powers of satire.

Among the changes in the Senate were the following: Richard Yates, Illinois' War Governor, displaced Senator Richardson; Senator John P. Hale was succeeded by Aaron H. Cragin. Mr. Hale was sent, a few days after the Senate election, as Minister to Spain by Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Creswell, from the House, had been promoted to the Senate. Grant's future Attorney-General, George H. Williams, came to the Senate from Oregon. John P. Stockton came from New Jersey, and Samuel J. Kirkwood, who was to serve in Garfield's Cabinet with Mr. Blaine, as

Secretary of the Interior, came to the Senate from Iowa as the successor of James Harlan.

Among the additions to the House were several who had been conspicuous in the Union army. General Banks, who had served as Speaker in the House before the war, came back to the Thirty-ninth Congress. Brigadier-General Gilman Marston, from New Hampshire, and Henry C. Deming, of Connecticut, who had served during the war, were noticeable among the new-comers. Another New York editor, the brilliant Henry J. Raymond, came from New York to this Congress. General John H. Ketcham, who was to do honorable service for more than a quarter of a century from one of the most influential districts of New York and who was to voluntarily retire after many years of service, was conspicuous in the business administration of the House. Samuel Shellabarger and John A. Bingham, who had failed to be re-elected to the Thirty-eighth Congress, now came back with Columbus Delano who was to be in President Grant's cabinet. Among the notable additions from the West were Shelby M. Cullom from Illinois, on the Republican side, and Judge William E. Niblack, of Indiana, on the Democratic side. Judge Niblack became one of the leading managers among his Democratic associates. Mr. Cullom, who greatly resembles Mr. Lincoln in personal appearance, was to become

afterward United States Senator, the author of important legislation regulating inter-state commerce traffic, and further to become after years of faithful service a formidable presidential quantity.

Mr. Blaine's conspicuous effort during the first session of this Congress was during the debate on reconstruction. This debate was opened by Thaddeus Stevens on the 18th of December, 1865, immediately after the meeting of the Congress. It is interesting to look through to-day this opening address of Mr. Stevens. However incorrect were his theories concerning financial topics, in the field of political administration he was a master mind. He foreshadowed in that speech the situation of to-day. He pointed out clearly and distinctly the power that would be given to the South through the manumission of the slaves by the increase it would give them in their representation in Congress. With the negroes counted they would be entitled under the then existing law to 86 members. By excluding them from the basis of representation they would have but 46 members. He argued that as long as the negroes were not allowed to vote they should be excluded from the basis of congressional representation. He was then opposed to extending the right of suffrage to the colored people, believing that it would only be used as a weapon against the North, and that it would

have been best to have left that question to be settled by the Southern people themselves. Mr. Stevens, in speaking of the helpless condition of the colored people and their inability to exercise the political rights which it was even then proposed to extend to them, said: "We have turned, or are about to turn loose, four millions of slaves, without a hut to shelter them or a cent in their pockets. The diabolical laws of slavery have prevented them from acquiring an education, understanding the commonest laws of contract, or of managing the ordinary business of life. This Congress is bound to look after them until they can take care of themselves. If we do not hedge them around with protecting laws, if we leave them to the legislation of their old masters, we had better have left them in bondage. Their condition will be worse than that of our prisoners at Andersonville. If we fail in this great duty now when we have the power, we shall deserve to receive the execration of history, and of all future ages."

Mr. Stevens combatted sharply the Democratic theory that this was a white man's government. Upon this subject he said: "If this Republic is not now made to stand on solid principle, it has no honest foundation, and the Father of all men will shake it to its centre. . If we have not yet been sufficiently scourged for our national sin to teach us to

do justice to all God's creatures without distinction of race or color, we must expect a still more heavy vengeance of an offended Father, still increasing His inflictions as He increased the severity of the plagues of Egypt, until the tyrant consented to do justice, and when that tyrant repented of his reluctant consent, and attempted to re-enslave the people, as our Southern tyrants are attempting to do now, He filled the Red Sea with broken chariots and drowned horses, and strewed the shore with corpses of men."

Mr. Stevens' dire prophecy yet remains unfulfilled. The Southern power which he correctly defined, in its aggressiveness has practically eliminated the vote of the colored man in the South from all political considerations, while it retains the representatives of these colored men. To-day, upwards of five millions of colored men are unrepresented in the halls of Congress, in the Electoral College, while the South with their stolen votes, usurps their places and their share in the power of the Government.

Mr. Blaine, throughout his Congressional career, made repeated appeals to Congress, and to the country to guard against this usurpation of power upon the part of the South. After Mr. Stevens, there was no more devoted debater upon this subject. As he grew older in experience and as he

advanced in power in the House he became even more emphatic both in public and private. He always held that there was no assurance of safety for Republican institutions in this country until we had reached a basis of honesty and justice in our government. Mr. Blaine held that it was impracticable to try to control the local affairs of the South through the agency of Federal power. But he always insisted that the representation in Congress should be cut down to a just basis, so that the power of a Southern member should not represent from two to three times the power of a Northern member. This inequality as it was denounced by the Republican leaders throughout the reconstruction period exists to-day. The Southern managers with their Northern allies have carried the point for which the Rebellion was started. The first uprising of the slave-owners was in the interest of their political power. They resisted the movement of the Abolitionists in the North chiefly on account of its endangering their political supremacy. They are to-day more contented with the situation than if they had been successful in the Rebellion. They have no longer slavery, but they have even more political power than when they were strongest and the slavery sentiment was at its height. Then they had the labor of the slaves which was even more expensive to them than the

free labor of to-day, and the political representation based upon three-fifths only of the slave population. To-day they have the advantage of the labor of the entire colored population and the basis of their political representation extended to the whole negro population.

Mr. Blaine outlined this issue very clearly in a speech made by him on the 8th of January, 1866, in which he discussed the amendment to the Federal Constitution so as to change the basis of representation in Congress from that of population to that of the votes cast. In other words, employing suffrage instead of population as the basis of representation. This amendment has been frequently offered and with the frank and avowed purpose of curtailing the unjust and dishonestly acquired power of the South. The argument advanced by Mr. Blaine in this speech was that no injustice would be done to the South by changing the laws governing Congressional representation. So long as the negro was disfranchised he should not be counted in the basis of representation. If the South should wish to secure the increase of power it could do so by extending the franchise to the negro and by honestly counting his vote, but Mr. Blaine thought then to change from a population to a suffrage basis would create such inequalities in the end as to constitute an evil greater

than the one sought to be rendered. He said: "The ratio of voters to population varies widely in different sections, ranging from a minimum of 19 per cent. to a maximum of 58 per cent., and the changes which this fact would work in the relative representation of certain States would be monstrous. For example: California has a population of 358,110, and Vermont 314,369, and each has three Representatives on this floor to-day. But California has 207,000 votes in electing her three Representatives and Vermont has 87,000. If suffrage had been the basis of representation California would have had eight Representatives to Vermont's three." This argument of Mr. Blaine's was the first one made on the Republican side against the plan of basing representation on votes. Mr. Blaine's suggestion as to the form of the addition to the Fourteenth Amendment as the basis of reconstruction was the one which finally prevailed. In this speech the suggestion was made in the following language:

"The Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 2, Clause 3, reads as follows to the first period: 'Representative and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by (*adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to*

service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons).’ ”

He then said : “The portion which I have included in parenthesis has become meaningless and nugatory by the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment which abolishes the distinction between free persons and all other persons. And being thus a dead-letter might as well be formally struck out. In its stead I propose to insert the words following included in parentheses so that the clause amended will read thus :

“ ‘Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by (taking the whole number of persons except those to whom civil or political rights or privileges are denied or abridged by the Constitution or laws of any State on account of race or color).’ ”

Mr. Blaine thought this was a very simple and direct way of reaching the desired result without embarrassment to any other question or interest. While it left population as the basis of representation, he argued that it would deprive the Southern States of all representation in Congress on account of the colored population so long as those States may choose to abridge or to deny to that population the political rights and privileges accorded to others.

Mr. Blaine did not foresee at that time that such a provision of the Constitution could not be enforced without additional congressional legislation and with the providing of a tribunal of a non-partisan character for the taking of evidence showing the abridgment of the civil or political rights in question. Before such legislation was reached the dominant power of the South captured the control of the House of Representatives, and so for the future no legislation will be possible to reduce or limit this dishonestly acquired power of the South without some great upheaval of public opinion at the North. To secure such a tidal wave of opinion there will have to occur some signal and striking event to illustrate the arbitrary and aggressive power of the now dominant South.

The amendment to the Constitution when finally approved by Congress did not, however, follow the exact words of Mr. Blaine's suggestion. The change, when made, instead of the language employed by Mr. Blaine, was as follows: "But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of the State, or the members of the legislature thereof is denied to any of the male members of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and

citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crimes, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

The seceded States refused to accept this amendment, and several of them passed laws which would have reduced the freedmen into a condition of slavery worse than that from which they had been released.

Mr. Blaine was himself to feel the weight of this Southern power. Southern people were at the head of all the Committees of Investigation which sought to destroy him, a few years later. If he had consented to temporize with this Southern element he would undoubtedly have been spared the great trials of 1876. It was on account of his power and his popular following at the North that he was early marked for political destruction by the leaders of the Southern Democracy.

CHAPTER IX.

A PEN-PICTURE OF THE BLAINE-CONKLING EPISODE.—

CONKLING'S PECULIAR CHARACTER, AND LATER ENMITY TO MR. BLAINE.

THE so-called Blaine-Conkling episode took place on the 30th of April, 1866, toward the close of the long session of the Thirty-ninth Congress. This occurrence added to the list of Southern enemies of Mr. Blaine a formidable Northern leader, who was prominent until his resignation from the Senate in 1881, and who was the chief of what was later called the stalwart element in the Republican party.

Mr. Conkling possessed a peculiar and characteristic individuality. He was an educated lawyer. He was very imperious and masterful in his temperament. He was impatient with opposition, and in debate scorned all of the small courtesies, and apparently took pleasure in annoying and insulting an opponent, either by contempt or by overwhelming him with the flood-gates of his power of rhetoric. His style of speaking was very dissimilar to that of Mr. Blaine. In many ways he was one of the ablest men who ever sat in the House. He had great

capacity for study, was a wide reader, and in the presentation of a case went over every possible detail which he thought could produce an effect. His style of oratory was very ornate. In his extreme youth this style was even turgid at times, and to the close of his political career his fault was an over-use of extravagant adjectives, with too great an employment of mere flowers of speech. Yet with all of this excessive ornamentation, with his at times extreme verbosity and repetition, the force and individuality of the man made him a dominant figure. His sublime and almost aggressive confidence in himself, and in the righteousness of his own cause; his belittling contempt for the intellects of his adversaries made him always an object of delight for the galleries. There was no orator from the North who possessed Mr. Conkling's ability to aggravate and enrage the Southern members. He always treated them with lofty, patronizing contempt, and the language employed by him to stigmatize the acts of the Ku-Klux, the swindling of returning boards, the use of fraudulent ballots will long be remembered in the halls of Congress. His courage in debate was fully the equal of Mr. Blaine's, and this courage, often carried to the verge of swaggering insolence, made him an object of absolute hatred on the Democratic side.

Mr. Conkling's appearance was quite as striking as his manners. He was over six feet in height. He had very broad shoulders, a deep chest, and a sinewy, powerful figure. He stooped slightly from his waist without being round-shouldered. His physical proportions were built on a generous scale. His head was very large and extremely broad and full above the ears. His hair was a reddish blond, curling and trimmed closely to his head, with the exception of a long curl which grew down in the centre of his forehead. His eyes were a keen blue-gray. His nose was a drooping aquiline, with sarcastic lines falling from the nostrils, which moved only too easily into the fixed expression of a sneer. A short mustache and pointed beard, very closely trimmed at the sides, accentuated the oval of his face and emphasized the extreme breadth of the top of his great head. He was always dressed in the very latest fashion, and was as careful in his selection of linens and cravats and boots as the traditional beau of society. He was a collector of fancy-colored silk handkerchiefs, and was always displaying some new acquisition to this line. He always appeared in Congress fresh from a plunge in the marble bath-tubs in the basement of the Capitol building; curled, scented, and insolent, he swaggered through the debates of Congress, attending rigidly to his public duties, performing prodigies of

work, and fighting courageously for the most aggressive principles of the extreme stalwart element of the Republican party. He never faltered or hesitated in the face of a fight. In a debate his great physical proportions added splendor to his Oriental forms of expression. He seemed at times to tower far above and beyond an opponent. It was hopeless for a small man to try and conduct a debate against Mr. Conkling. The disproportion of mere appearance was too great for any argument to be effective. It was very rare that Mr. Conkling lost his temper. It was more his delight to provoke others to ill-temper. He was scrupulously honest, and never but once was charged by any one all through his official career with ever having made a penny improperly. The single exception was at the time of this notable debate in April, 1866.

Mr. Conkling and Mr. Blaine were nearly of the same age. Both were aspirants for the position of leader on the Republican side. Mr. Blaine had as fine a presence as Mr. Conkling. He was nearly as tall, and was equally aggressive and courageous, although he did not have the same swaggering assumption and over-confidence in his methods of speech. Both gentlemen had high tempers and were naturally antagonistic from the first through the dissimilarity of their temperaments. Mr. Conkling



THE BLAINE RESIDENCE AT AUGUSTA, ME.

made friends easily only with those who yielded to him. He had none of the arts of the conversationalist. He delivered monologues, and those who wished to be his friends were obliged to sit in reverent attitudes and listen to his brilliant discourses. Naturally Mr. Blaine could not have any political or friendly alliance with such a man.

The occasion for an open war between these two members occurred during a debate when the subject of the number of troops enlisted by each Northern State for the putting down of the Rebellion came up. In this discussion Mr. Conkling made an all-around sweeping attack upon General James B. Fry, who had been a provost-marshal general in the State of New York. Mr. Conkling charged General Fry with the guilty knowledge of certain frauds in the recruiting records for that State, whereby the State was given an unjust credit for soldiers enlisted. General Fry was from the State of Maine and a friend of Mr. Blaine's.

Mr. Blaine came to the rescue of General Fry and in turn made a counter-charge against Mr. Conkling. He said that in a previous Congress Mr. Conkling had accepted an appointment from the Secretary of War as a Judge-Advocate and had drawn the salary of that place, while the statutes of the United States forbade any member of Congress or Federal official

from drawing the salary of two places under the government. Mr. Conkling replied to this with some heat that he was employed as special counsel by the War Department to prosecute these recruiting frauds, and as special counsel he had received his fee. Mr. Blaine was able to produce from the war records a copy of a letter from the Secretary of War to Mr. Conkling in which he was appointed a Judge-Advocate. To this Mr. Conkling replied that this letter was a mere form and that in reality he was employed as special counsel. He made no concealment or denial of the fact that he had received a fee from the government for a special service rendered while he had at the same time had a salary as a member of Congress.

After Mr. Blaine had produced the document from the War Department, Mr. Conkling declined to make any further explanation, and when the Speaker asked him, "Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Maine?" Mr. Conkling replied "No, sir, I do not wish to have anything to do with the member from Maine, not even so much as to yield him the floor."

Mr. Blaine: "All right."

Here Mr. Conkling said in his deepest voice and most tragic manner, "If the member from Maine had the least idea how profoundly indifferent I am

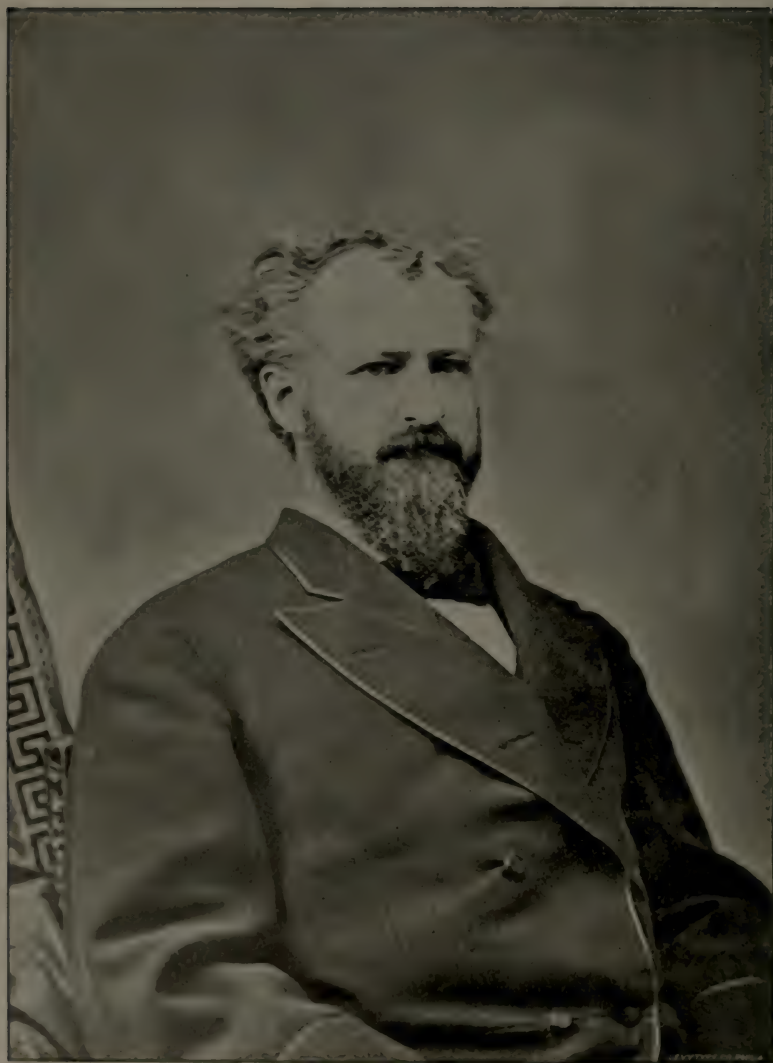
to his opinion on this subject, or on any subject, I think he would hardly take the trouble to rise to express his opinion, nor detain the House." Mr. Conkling added: "I will not detain the House with an argument as to whether this opinion is well or ill-founded." Mr. Conkling then turned toward Mr. Blaine, and, glaring upon him in the most contemptuous possible manner, sat down, and began with an air of cool contempt to write a letter as if he had dismissed a troublesome person from further consideration in his mind.

But Mr. Blaine was never a man who could be contemptuously dismissed by any one. He flushed for a moment under the whip of Mr. Conkling's manner, and then, advancing in his direction, he delivered the only personal diatribe ever uttered by him in Congress. He spoke as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, it is hardly worth while to pursue the controversy further. But still the gentleman from New York cannot get off on the technicality which he has suggested. He says that a commission never was issued to him. I understand him to admit that if a commission had been issued to him he could not have taken pay for both offices. Now every one knows that those preliminary authorizations are the things on which half the business arising out of the war has been done. Men have fought at the head

of battalions and divisions of army corps without having received their formal commissions. The gentleman was as much bound to respect the law under that appointment as though he had been given a formal commission with the signature of the Secretary of War."

Here Mr. Blaine, instead of addressing the Speaker, turned to Mr. Conkling himself as he said: "As to the gentleman's cruel sarcasm, I hope he will not be too severe. The contempt of that large-minded gentleman is so wilting, his haughty disdain, his grandiloquent swell, his majestic over-powering turkey-gobbler strut has been so crushing to myself and to all the members of the House, that I know it was an act of the greatest temerity for me to venture upon a controversy with him. But, sir, I know who is responsible for all of this. I know that within the last five weeks, as members of this House will recollect, an extra strut has characterized the gentleman's bearing. It is the fault of another. That gifted and satirical writer, Theodore Tilton, of *The New York Independent*, spent some weeks recently in this city. His letters published in that paper embraced with many serious statements a little jocose satire, a part of which was the statement that the mantle of the late Winter Davis had fallen upon the member from New York. The gentleman took it seriously,



ROSCOE CONKLING.

and it has given his strut additional pomposity. The resemblance is great. It is striking. Hyperion to a Satyr, Thersites to Hercules, mud to marble, dung-hill to diamond, a singed cat to a Bengal tiger, a whining puppy to a roaring lion. Shade of the mighty Davis, forgive the almost profanation of that jocose satire."

The members roared with delight all over the House at this attack. There is nothing so relished in the House as personalities in debate. Those who had suffered at the hands of Conkling, of course, roared the loudest. Mr. Conkling did not condescend to make any reply or to notice in any way Mr. Blaine's speech. He continued his writing. His face was slightly flushed, but he gave no other outward sign of having heard what was said. From that day until the day he died he never spoke a word to Mr. Blaine, and never, apparently, saw him, although for upward of fifteen years he was a member of Congress, later in the Senate, and constantly meeting Mr. Blaine in the limited regions of the social circles of Washington. Wherever his influence could stay the ambition of Mr. Blaine, or defeat his plans, it was always active, although never openly opposing him by name.

CHAPTER X.

THE COMPLETION OF THE RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATION.—MR. BLAINE'S PROPHEPIC PICTURES.

THE second session of the Thirty-ninth Congress met on the 3d of December, 1866. The conflict between the President and the Republican majority had reached its height. Nearly every measure proposed by the Republicans of a political character was vetoed by the President and then passed over his head. This feeling of antagonism culminated in the presentation in the House of a resolution to impeach the President. This resolution was sent to a special committee to take testimony to see whether articles of impeachment should be presented. The committee found no evidence to warrant the presentation of articles at that time, and so the matter was deferred, and the impeachment question went over to the following Congress.

This preliminary action had been undoubtedly stimulated by the partisan passions awakened during the campaign of the preceding summer. The South, stirred up by the conflicting plans for reconstruction and by their failure to recover their footing as equal

States in the Union, was the scene of violence, disorder, and great intimidation of the colored people. The celebrated riot in New Orleans, where forty negroes were killed, added greatly to the excitement. It was during this period previous to the meeting of Congress that Mr. Johnson had broken with the leading members of his cabinet. The defeat of President Johnson in the campaign of that year, notwithstanding his remarkable tour in which he went before the people to explain his movements and to attack Congress left him tied hand and foot, in the power of the Republican majority in Congress.

The first two months of this session were given up to debates of the Southern question. On the 10th of December, Mr. Blaine expressed himself upon the subject of the legislation proposed by Mr. Stevens, resulting from the investigations in the preceding session. Mr. Blaine asked, "Shall the late rebels wield the entire civil power of the South?" This speech was uttered with the belief that the Southern States would not accept the Fourteenth Amendment.

He said, still talking on this never-ending dispute concerning the proper representation of the South in the House: "If the Southern States are to be deprived of their undue share of Representatives based on their non-voting population, they should be de-

prived of them at once, and not be admitted even temporarily with the old apportionment by which they would continue to exercise in the House of Representatives, and in the Electoral Colleges, the same weight of influence exercised by them before the Rebellion.

“The population of the States recently slave-holding was, by the census of 1860, 12,240,000, of whom 8,039,000 were whites, and 4,201,000 negroes. The population of the free States by the same census was 19,201,546, of whom only 237,000 were negroes. It would hardly be maintained by any one that the States lately slave-holding, taken as a whole, have done anything more than hold good their population of 1860, while in the free States, despite the losses of war, the ratio of increase has never been more rapid than since that year. It is speaking with moderation to say that the population of the free States is to-day 25,000,000.

“Supposing the Constitutional Amendment to be adopted as the basis of re-admitting the Southern States to the privilege of representation, it would be a cruel mockery of the whole aim and intent of that Amendment, to usher those States upon this floor with the full number of Representatives assigned them by the census of 1860. Then three-fifths of their slaves, and all their disfranchised free people of

color were allowed them in fixing the basis of apportionment. Were they so admitted to-day, the aggregate number of Representatives from the late slave States would be 85, and from the free States 156, making a House of 241 in all. And yet if those 241 members were divided between the free and slave States on the basis of the representative population, as directed by the Constitutional Amendment, the slave States would have but 58 members, while the free States would have 183.

“A corresponding change would be wrought in the Electoral Colleges. Were the Government to permit an election for President and Vice-President in 1868 on the basis assigned by the census of 1860 the late slave States would have 115 electoral votes while the free States would have but 198. But on the actual basis contemplated by the Constitutional Amendment the late slave States would have but 88 while the free States would have 225. On the old basis the free States would thus have a majority of 83, while on the basis of the Constitutional Amendment they would have a majority of 127; a new difference of 44 electoral votes in favor of the free States.

“In view of these results, which are the plainest arithmetical deductions, it could not be expected that the free States, if they were to adhere to the Con-

stitutional Amendment as the ultimatum of adjustment, would consent to have the lately rebellious States admitted to representation here and to participation in the Electoral Colleges until the relative and proper strength of the several States should be adjusted anew by a special census by an apportionment made in pursuance thereof. It was in this belief and with these views that at the last session of Congress I framed a bill providing for a special enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States, which bill was on my motion referred to the Reconstruction Committee, and has never been reported to the House by that committee either favorably or adversely.

“What then shall be done? The people, so far as we represent them, have plainly spoken in the late election, and the interpretation of their voice is not difficult. They have pronounced with unmistakable emphasis in favor of the Constitutional Amendment with its definition of American citizenship, with its guaranty of the national obligations and with its prohibition of the assumption of the rebel debt is an invaluable addition to our organic law. We cannot surrender its provisions, and the rebel States cannot by their utmost resistance defeat its ultimate adoption. It is too late to deny or even to argue the right or power of the Government to impose in

those States conditions precedent to their resumption of the privilege of representation. The President set the example, by exacting three highly important concessions from those States as his basis of reconstruction. Congress followed by imposing four other conditions as its basis of reconstruction. Now the people have spoken demanding one additional condition as their basis of reconstruction, and that condition is the absolute equality of American citizens in civil and political rights without regard to caste, color, or creed."

The Republican majority in Congress had not up to this time reached the point where they were ready to extend the right of suffrage to the negro. They wished to leave that to the Southern States themselves. In passing the Fourteenth Amendment they had provided that the South could not secure its old representation in Congress, without extending political rights to the negroes. The South, with one exception—the State of Tennessee—rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, and as the result of such action Mr. Thaddeus Stevens reported on the 8th of February, 1867, the famous reconstruction measure which divided the South into military districts, and placed its government in the hands of the military authorities, giving the right under certain circumstances of violence and riot to suspend the writ of

habeas corpus. This measure, as reported by Mr. Stevens, gave rise to prolonged discussion in both branches of Congress.

Mr. Blaine said he was willing to support any measure that would place the South under military government, if it did not at the same time prescribe the methods by which the people of a State could by their own action re-establish civil government. He submitted an amendment providing that "When any one of the late so-called Confederate States shall have given its assent to the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, and conformed its constitution and laws thereto, in all respects, and when it shall have provided by its constitution that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed equally and impartially by all male citizens of the United States, twenty-one years of age and upward, without regard to race, color, or previous condition of servitude, except such as may be disfranchised for participating in the late Rebellion, and when such constitution shall have been submitted to the voters of said State as then defined, for ratification or rejection, and when the constitution, if ratified by the popular vote, shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval, said State shall, if its constitution be approved by Congress, be declared entitled to representation in Congress, and Senators and Representa-



EX PRESIDENT CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

tives shall be admitted therefrom on their taking the oath prescribed by law, and then and thereafter the preceding sections of this bill shall be inoperative in said State."

Mr. Blaine, in presenting the argument in favor of this amendment, said that he believed the true interpretation of the election of 1866 was that, in addition to the proposed constitutional amendments, impartial suffrage should be the basis of reconstruction. He asked, "When you send out this military police to the lately rebellious States, why not send with it that impressive declaration?"

Changes were made in the bill in keeping with the spirit of Mr. Blaine's suggestions, and when the measure came to be passed it carried with it the enfranchisement of the negro which the rebellious spirit of the South had forced the Northern Republican managers to give him as a protection. The South has denied over and over again with bitter emphasis that they were responsible for giving the negro suffrage. The original plan of the Republican leaders was to grant a gradual extension. Mr. Lincoln himself favored extending it first only to the educated negroes and to those who had served in the Union army.

Mr. Blaine, in his personal history of Congress, lays great emphasis upon the declaration that the

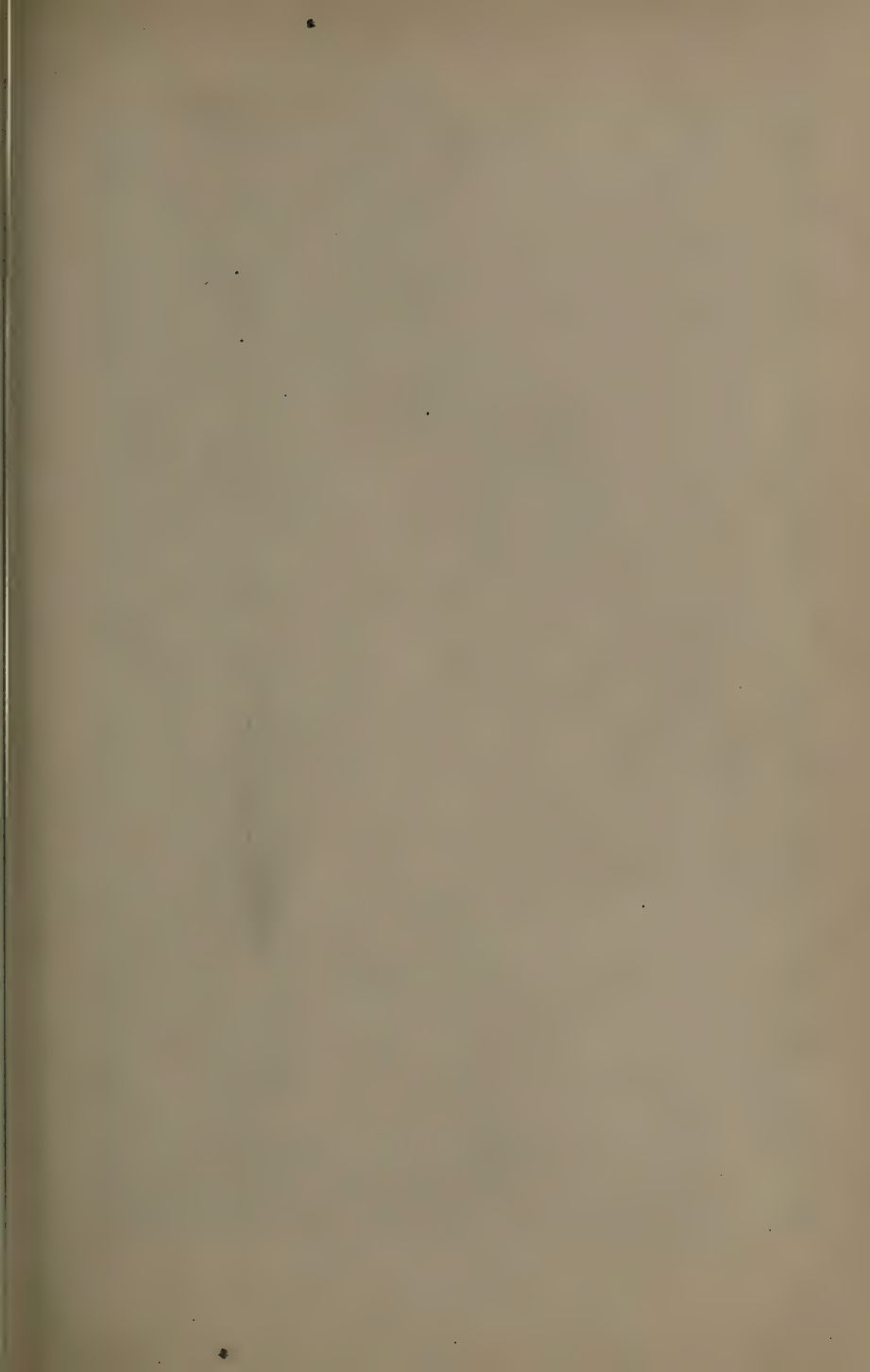
Southern men themselves forced the situation, and made negro suffrage absolutely necessary. Upon this subject he says: "As a matter of historical truth, which has been ingeniously and continuously, whether ignorantly or malignantly, perverted, this point cannot be too fully elaborated nor too forcibly emphasized: *The Northern States nor the Republican party, which then wielded the aggregate political power of the North, did not force negro suffrage upon the South, nor exact it as a condition of readmitting the Southern States to the right and privilege of representation in Congress until after other conditions had been rejected by the South.* The privilege of resuming representation in Congress had, in effect, been tendered to the Southern States upon the single condition that they would ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, which provided, among other safeguards for the future, that, so long as the negro was denied suffrage he should not be included in the basis of Federal enumeration. In other words, that the white men of the South should not be allowed to elect thirty-five or forty Representatives to Congress based on the negro population in addition to the Representatives duly apportioned to their own numbers. When all the Southern States, with the exception of Tennessee, declined to accept this basis of reconstruction, by their rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment,

they ought to have measured the consequences. The imperative question thenceforward was whether the loyal or disloyal, the victorious Union or the defeated Confederacy, should prescribe the terms of reconstruction.

“The Northern States were thus compelled to consider whether they would unconditionally surrender to the rebel element of the South or devise some other plan of reconstruction. At that point in the order of time, in the order of events, and not until then, the just resolve was made by the Republicans to reconstruct the South on the basis of loyalty, regardless of race or color. By refusing to co-operate with Republicans, in the work of rehabilitating their States, the Southern rebels forced the Northern States to make impartial suffrage the corner-stone of the restored Union. The South had its choice, and it deliberately and after fair warning decided to reject the magnanimous offer of the North, and to insist upon an advantage in representation against which a common sense of justice revolted. The North foiled in its original design of reconstruction by the perverse course of the South, was compelled under the providence of the Ruler of Nations to deal honestly and justly with the colored people. It was the insane folly of the South in drawing the sword against the life of the nation that

led irresistibly to the abolition of slavery. In a minor degree the folly was repeated, in resisting the mode of reconstruction first tendered, and thus forcing Congress to confer civil rights and suffrage upon the emancipated slaves. A higher than human power controlled these great events. The wrath of man was made to praise the righteous works of God. Whatever were the deficiencies of the negro race in education, for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, they had exhibited the only vital qualification of an instinctive loyalty, and as far as lay in their power a steadfast helpfulness to the cause of the national Union."

This brilliant historical description represents the highest and best of Mr. Blaine's mind upon this subject. In Congress he held rigidly to this principle of fair and just representation in the House and in the Electoral College, but the solid South has proved in the end to have been more powerful and to have overreached the skill, shrewdness, and statesmanship of the Republican leaders of that time. They have succeeded in creating such a false sentiment at the North that the mild and occasional attempts to revive the subject is denounced in the Northern press as being a renewal of the partisan issues of the war, and is dismissed under the curt phrase of "bloody-shirt literature." The Democratic





MR. BLAINE'S COTTAGE AT BAR HARBOR.

South has politically to-day the full value of its negro population, and wields a power which can never be broken unless the majority in the North shall see fit some day to equalize the powers of the two sections.

The bulk of the great business interests of this country to-day are in the North. The great wealth, the great cities, are in the Northern States. The foreign shipping interests come in bulk to the Northern ports. The millions of emigrants who come from Europe seek Northern homes. The great newspapers, the educational institutions, the railroads are nearly all in the North. It is not reasonable to suppose that the representatives of all these vast interests will consent for an indefinite period to be governed by representatives of the poorer, and, in a comparative sense, the inferior section of the country. One of the reasons often given by Mr. Blaine in private conversation for the superiority of the South in the political world lies in the fact that all of their leading men are trained to politics. Politics is nearly the only great profession in the South. It secures the attention of its best and most talented men. In the North it is only a small percentage of the best men who go into politics. Their presence is needed in the great commercial world, in the fields of education and indus-

trial development. So the South with its unscrupulous seizure of power wields it compactly, and by union with selfish interests in the North which scruple at nothing to arrive at success, controls the administration of National affairs. Mr. Blaine always believed that the North would never be fully awakened to an actual realization of the extent to which the South has been able through Northern aid to nullify the results of the war until these same commercial interests would be made to feel the paralyzing effect of putting into practice the theories of free trade which have so long been the prevailing doctrine of the South. The Southern members have advocated consistently the doctrines of free trade as a further means of weakening the power of the North. The Northern commercial interests have been indifferent or have refused to believe, and it remains to be seen how clearly Mr. Blaine's predictions concerning their future will be realized after the South has controlled the affairs at Washington for another Presidential term.

CHAPTER XI.

MR. BLAINE'S EARLY RECORD A MODEL FOR YOUNG
LEGISLATORS TO STUDY.—HIS CORRECT VIEWS UPON
THE THEN TROUBLESOME QUESTION OF FINANCE.

THE most admirable chapters in Mr. Blaine's career are his early experiences in Congress and his development as a debater of public questions in the House. At no time did he present any doubtful theories. He had the correct views of a superior mind. He had by study learned to give proper reasons for these views. He was devoted to the cause of the Union, and upon the great public questions of the day showed none of the rashness of youth, none of the immaturity of a young man, but, on the contrary, displayed qualities which entitled him to be considered, at this period of his life, a statesman above ordinary criticism.

The Fortieth Congress met in an extra session immediately following the adjournment of the Thirty-ninth. Mr. Blaine had been re-elected to this Congress the summer before, without any opposition. It was believed by the Republican majority in Congress that the Government could not be safely left

unguarded in President Johnson's hands. The Thirty-ninth Congress had therefore passed a law providing that future Congresses should be convened immediately after the final adjournment of the preceding Congress. The Republican majority knew that the President was not in sympathy with the Reconstruction Act.

There were a number of changes and additions in both branches in this Congress. Oliver P. Morton, the great war Governor of Indiana, came to the Senate. He was as strong a character in his way as Thaddeus Stevens. He had an intense individuality, great force of character, and was passionately devoted to the fortunes of the Republican party. He was a stalwart of the stalwarts. Although his legs were paralyzed so that he had to be wheeled into the Senate in an invalid chair, aside from this inability to walk or to move about unaided, his appearance did not give any indication of physical weakness. He was large and powerful in his frame, and had a great round head, which was nearly bald. His hair was black, his eyebrows very marked in their lines, and his complexion a deep sallow. His eyes were very black. His nose was short, thick, and very round at the end, giving an air of pugnacity to his resolute-jawed face. A dark mustache and short beard added character to his stern countenance. Mr.

Morton was always tremendously in earnest. He had an iron frame set in his desk as a support for his arms. He used to cling to this frame and present his arguments with a force and a dogmatism which always commanded attention. For the convenience of entering the Senate chamber in his invalid chair, he had a seat in the front row on the Democratic side of the Senate. Some of his fiercest utterances against Southern mismanagement and outrages were delivered absolutely in the faces of ex-Confederate generals, who sat within arm's reach of this earnest, resolute, and, at times, almost vindictive old man.

Other additions in the Senate were Orris S. Ferry, from Connecticut, and James Harlan, from Iowa, who came back after two years in Mr. Johnson's Cabinet, where he had served as Secretary of the Interior.

In the House the most notable new-comer was John A. Logan. He was the great volunteer soldier of the war. He was Grant's most intimate and trusted friend. He had made a record in the war unsurpassed for courage, common sense, and high military ability. He loved to fight as other men love to play. He was then in the prime of his physical vigor. He was about five feet ten in height, with a compact, well-built frame. His

complexion was that of a native of Sicily. His eyes were intensely black. His nose was straight. A heavy black mustache shaded his severe soldierly countenance. His hair was intensely blue-black and as fine as silk. It hung long and straight, as a frame to his characteristic face. In every way he was a notable-looking man. His common sense was quite the equal of his courage. He was very plain and matter-of-fact. He was not generally appreciated during his first years of service in the House, perhaps because he lacked some of the surface polish of many who were not as well educated as he. He was to become the Vice-Presidential candidate with Mr. Blaine in later years, and to have an honorable and brilliant record as Senator of the United States from his State of Illinois. Norman B. Judd, who had been Minister to Berlin under Mr. Lincoln, came to the House from Chicago.

General Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, entered this House as one of the new members. He became, with his "talent for turbulence," a vigorous opponent in time of Mr. Blaine's, and was to be one of the direct causes of Mr. Blaine's defeat for the Presidency in 1884. He was a very original character. He loved opposition. Although a nominal Republican he never acted in harmony with any of his party associates. His conduct as a politician was

very much like his conduct as a general during the war. He was a law unto himself and had no inclination to act as a subordinate to any one.

He was at his best in purely administrative matters. His record as Governor of New Orleans during the war was the best chapter in his public career. In appearance he was unlike any other man who has ever before lived on this earth. He had a face which was the special delight of the caricaturists. He was so ugly, however, as to be interesting. There was nothing disagreeable in his ugliness. He was of medium height, with a figure inclined to be stout.

In later years he was quite stout. His head was very large and round. His neck was very short, so that this great head sat very low on broad and high shoulders. He served in Congress for many years after the war. He was quite bald, with a narrow fringe of sandy brown hair running around the back of his head. What was left of his hair was worn long. His forehead was very broad and full.

His complexion was high. He had the color of a man in good health and accustomed to much out-door life. His eyes were the most peculiar feature of his face. He was very near-sighted. The eyelids were shaped like those of a Chinaman, only the line turned outward instead of inward. His nose was a short Roman. His mouth was full-lipped and stern. A

short, reddish mustache curled in at each corner of his mouth. The lower part of his face was broad, double-chinned, and smooth shaven.

He always presented a picturesque and graceful appearance, in spite of his ugliness and his awkward figure. He had the self-possession, the poise, and grace of a great personage perfectly confident of himself and of his abilities. He nearly always was dressed in black. He was scrupulously neat in the small details of his dress. For many years he wore a boutonniere in the lapel of his black frock coat.

He was the first member of the House of Representatives who habitually appeared upon the floor wearing this bit of decoration. A few since have copied this, but no one, perhaps, except Mr. Springer, of Illinois, has become so persistent in what is known as the boutonniere habit. General Butler always wore a broad-brimmed soft hat. It was either a black or a light gray, according to his fancy.

He had a very deep, gruff voice, but it cannot be said that he spoke with great distinctness. His utterances were labored, although the labor appeared to be physical rather than intellectual. There never appeared to be any lack of freedom in the flow of his thoughts, but when he spoke he puffed and worked as hard as a locomotive on an up grade.

In speaking his gestures were graceful. His

hands, in their smallness, plumpness, and graceful contour, were almost like a woman's. He used them freely as he spoke. Nature had apparently concentrated the little beauty given to General Butler in his hands. They were the hands of an aristocrat. General Butler in debate was aggressive and almost tyrannical. He loved to crush an adversary, and if he could get an opponent at a disadvantage he was perfectly merciless.

General Butler was perfectly unscrupulous in the methods employed by him to defeat an antagonist. He possessed great wealth, made by the judicious investment of the large fees gathered by him in the active practice of his profession. He was one of the first lawyers of the country. He used all of his skill as a lawyer to gather testimony to overwhelm in the political field a chance opponent. He was always at war with the prim and conventional ideas of Massachusetts.

He appeared to be happy when he was shocking some one, and so he was nearly always at odds with the New England delegation in Congress. There was always some struggle going on over local appointments. One of the most celebrated of patronage fights was the war made by the delegation on Collector Simmons, of the port of Boston. He was a friend of General Butler's, and the means employed

by the General to carry out his own purpose in sustaining this friend would hardly be considered fair by any ordinary code of ethics.

The good, old-fashioned members of the Massachusetts delegation, who hated General Butler as the Puritans were taught to hate the devil, found that they were continually at a disadvantage in this fight. Whatever they would attempt to do they would find anticipated by the active General. Their most secret plans were divined, and, until the mystery was explained, they were in a constant state of rage and disappointment over their inability to keep up with him.

The explanation came finally through the vigilance of a Boston newspaper correspondent, who was a telegraph operator. He noticed that General Butler's private secretary, who was also a telegraph operator, was nearly always to be seen during the morning hanging about the telegraph offices in the Capitol building, which were then placed for the convenience of the members in the lobbies of the House of Representatives.

His private secretary was always about whenever any of the Massachusetts members were sending their dispatches. Of course, he heard the moment the instrument began to click the language of their messages, and so reported them to General Butler.

This discovery made a great uproar, and the House was obliged to answer to the demands of the indignant Massachusetts members, to order that the telegraph instruments be so arranged that no eavesdroppers could listen to the private messages of members.

General Butler was quite as often at war with the Republicans in the House as with the Democrats. He was dreaded by every one, at least by every man who had any private record which he did not desire published. One of the most terrific onslaughts made by General Butler was upon Congressman Whitthorne, of Tennessee, in a later Congress. This ex-confederate brigadier had, during some raid upon a Southern town, captured a bank.

The funds of the bank disappeared during this raid. It was an incident of the war, which attracted but little notice at that time. During one of those partisan debates between Northern and Southern members, which took place pending the consideration of reconstruction legislation, Mr. Whitthorne made some very severe reflections upon the integrity of General Butler's administration when Military Governor of New Orleans. General Butler arose to reply with a particularly malicious smile upon his face.

He said that he would be pleased to submit the

accounts of his administration, with the vouchers, for the consideration of the most eminent board of Confederate brigadiers that could be found. He would not ask to have a Northern man upon the auditing commission. This he would agree to do at once if Mr. Whitthorne would oblige him with an equally trustworthy account of what he did with the money captured in a particular bank in a particular town, naming the hour and the day on which the capture was made.

There was a furious cry of denial from the Southern side that any such raid was made, but General Butler flew to his desk and took from it an official report of the bank in question, which showed to a penny the amount of money taken, by whom, and under what circumstances, and, certified to by such an unquestioned Southern authority, not a word could be said in reply. And so for the time, further criticism of General Butler's administration ceased.

The only time that General Butler was ever met with his own weapons was during a debate upon some Treasury matter involving the fees of informers. Secretary of the Treasury Charles Foster, who was then comparatively unknown, made a national name for himself by violently attacking General Butler on the floor of the House and exposing his peculiar methods.

Mr. Foster was able to show the absolute employment of spies by General Butler for the purpose of ransacking private accounts, burrowing into the District Attorneys' offices, and for the surreptitious copying of confidential documents. The impudent aggressiveness of Butler was met by equal aggressive impudence upon the part of the Ohio member. Every one expected to see Mr. Foster blown up by some documentary dynamite of General Butler's.

But, either owing to Mr. Foster's previous obscurity or because there was nothing to be found, General Butler had nothing very special to say in reply to him. General Butler was then at the height of his power. He was brusque, overbearing, and at times very surly. The proofs of Foster's speech came into the House during a late night session. It was during the closing hours of the session and so these proofs had to be corrected then and there.

Remarks of General Butler were interspersed throughout Mr. Foster's address. General Butler being the veteran the proofs were first carried to him. Mr. Foster did not wait for the proofs to be finished in General Butler's hands, but came down himself to the side of the General's desk and stood there and deliberately corrected the proofs of his attack upon General Butler as they were passed over from the noted General's hands. This seemed to please General

Butler. It was in accordance with his own tactics, and he even glanced humorously at Mr. Foster as the latter worked diligently at the mass before him.

General Butler and Mr. Blaine had a severe tilt when the latter was Speaker. General Butler was fond of harassing Mr. Blaine, and the latter came down to the floor one day for the purpose of exposing the former's methods. In the colloquy that ensued concerning a certain declaration made by General Butler which was disputed by Mr. Blaine, the latter said :

"I hope God will pardon you, but you ought not to ask me to do it."

Mr. Butler—I will ask God and not you.

Mr. Blaine—I am glad the gentleman will.

Mr. Butler—I have no favors to ask of the devil.

General Butler's candidacy during the campaign of 1884 took just enough votes to defeat Mr. Blaine, as the General intended they should. It was always Mr. Blaine's belief that he was cheated out of the vote of New York and that enough Butler votes were deliberately transferred to Mr. Cleveland to give him the narrow majority officially declared for him.

Rutherford B. Hayes was also in this Congress. He was not especially prominent at this time. He was a large, ponderous member, with good capacity

for routine work, and who was always prompt and faithful in his performance of the work assigned to him on the committees where he was placed. He took but very little part in the debates. He gave but little evidence of the possibilities which the future had in store for him in the coming Presidential contest of 1876.

Another notable figure in the House was James B. Beck, who came from the Ashland district of Kentucky. Mr. Beck was a tall, powerful man of Scotch birth. He was educated in the Transylvania University. He had a marked Scotch accent, and spoke with tremendous rapidity. He was one of the fastest speakers in the House. He became quite a tariff authority, and for many years, both in the House and later in the Senate, presented the best arguments offered by the Democrats for a modification of the American protective tariff system.

This first extra session of the Fortieth Congress took up the subject of supplementary legislation necessary to the complete carrying out of the reconstruction act which had been passed through the preceding Congress with so much difficulty. All legislation of this character was promptly vetoed by the President, and with equal promptness passed over his head. The great debt of the war was also a subject for consideration. Many members of the

Republican majority wished to remain in continuous session throughout the summer. But another division of leaders thought that such a policy would cause even greater uneasiness throughout the country than then existed. And so a compromise was reached, whereby the first extra session was ended on the 20th of July, adjourning on this date with the agreement to reconvene on the 21st of the following November, two weeks in advance of the regular date for the beginning of the winter session. During this extra session Mr. Blaine occasionally occupied the Speaker's chair, and became one of the leaders among the younger members on the Republican side. A writer in a New York paper of that period thus describes Mr. Blaine as he appeared to him at that time :

“Mr. Blaine is metallic; you cannot conceive how a shot should pierce him, for there seems no joints in his harness. He is a man who knows what the weather was yesterday morning in Dakota, what the Emperor's policy will be touching Mexico, on what day of the week the 16th of December proximo will fall, who is chairman of the School Committee in Kennebunk, what is the best way of managing the National Debt, together with all the other interests of to-day, which anybody else would stagger under. How he does it, nobody knows. He is always in his



COL. J. H. MANLY.
(Intimate friend and associate.)

place. He must absorb details by assimilation at his finger ends. As I said, he is clear metal. His features are made in a mold; his attitudes are those of a bronze figure; his voice clinks; and he has ideas fixed as brass."

Greenbackism had its birth in this extra session. Mr. Pendleton opened the ball by introducing a bill providing for the payment of the bonds in greenbacks. A favorite argument in those days was, "Is not the money which was good enough to pay for the services of the brave Union soldiers good enough to pay the debt of the money-sharks who lent money to the Government at high rates and who drew the income in a safe and protected place?" "The battle and blood-stained greenback" was another phrase. The Democrats who had been so active in seeking to defeat every war measure were now to the front trying to cheat the creditors of the Government who had advanced the money at a time when the existence of the Government itself was at stake.

Mr. Blaine took advantage of the vacation afforded by the adjournment to go to Europe. He went in company with E. B. Washburne. He was not accompanied by his family. It was his first trip to Europe, and he derived great benefit from the change afforded him by the variety of scene and of climate. He went through Ireland, Scotland, England, and

then over to Paris. He went through the Rhine country, visited Switzerland and northern Italy, spending in all some three months on his trip, after the fashion of the wandering tourist who seeks rest and recreation rather than special information. Some of his biographers represent Mr. Blaine as such a proficient in the French language that his brief stay in Paris completed his education in that language. But the fact is that Mr. Blaine was never able to speak a dozen words of that language in conversation, and all through his experience at the head of the State Department he never took the time to acquire a sufficient conversational knowledge to be able to talk in that language with the diplomats who came to see him. Where they could not speak English he always depended on an interpreter.

When Mr. Blaine returned from Europe the green-back heresy was at its height. The argument that the money that was good enough for the soldier should certainly be good enough for the bond-holder had been coined into a number of catch phrases. Everywhere States and cities and individuals were in debt, and, the debtor class being very large, they hailed with delight any proposition to manufacture a cheaper money which would scale their indebtedness and strike at the unfortunate and misguided creditor class, which had presumed by its industry and ability

to place itself in the position of having more money than their debtor fellows. Mr. Blaine made two notable speeches in this Congress on this subject of our finances. It should be noted, in this connection, that Mr. Blaine then took very high ground in favor of the payment of the bonds in gold, and for the maintenance to the absolute letter of all the financial contracts made by the Government. There was no man in public life at that time who had a more perfect financial record. Even the soundest and best intellects appeared to be tainted by the financial heresies which were then so prevalent. Senator John Sherman, who was afterward to be one of the ablest Secretaries of the Treasury the United States has ever had, and who was to pilot with unerring skill the nation's finances through the period of specie resumption, was then committed to greenback views, and later was to become responsible for silver legislation almost as objectionable as some of the Pendleton bills introduced in the Fortieth Congress.

It was during the November session that Mr. Blaine, fresh from his European trip, made an address in the House in which he claimed that the nation's honor was involved in the payment of the bond debt in gold, and that to pay in greenbacks was to scale the debt, and that this was as intrinsically a violation of the original compact as repudiation would

have been. This speech was so remarkable in its character as opposed to the spirit of the time that the better part of it is here reproduced. It is the best answer that can be made to the oft-repeated charge of Mr. Blaine's enemies that he sought always in his political career to keep merely abreast of public opinion, and not in advance of it.

Mr. Blaine began this speech with a direct appeal to the business sense of the members, and said :

“ Within the past few months, some erroneous and mischievous views have been put forward in regard to the nature of the public obligation imposed by the debt of the United States. Without stopping to notice the lesser lights of the new doctrine, and not caring to analyze the various forms of repudiation suggested from irresponsible sources throughout the country, I propose to review, as briefly as may be, the position contemporaneously assumed by two able and distinguished gentlemen—the one from the West, the other from the East—the one the late candidate of the Democratic party for the Vice-Presidency—[Mr. Pendleton of Ohio]—the other a prominent member of this House from one of the strongest Republican districts of the State of Massachusetts—[General Butler].

“ The position of these gentlemen I understand to be simply this : That the principal of the United

States bonds, known as the five-twenties, may be fairly and legally paid in paper currency by the Government after the expiration of five years from the date of issue.

“A brief review of the origin of the five-twenty bonds will demonstrate, I think, that this position is in contravention of the honor and good faith of the National Government ; that it is hostile to the spirit and the letter of the law ; that it contemptuously ignores the common understanding between borrower and lender at the time the loan was negotiated ; and that finally, even if such mode of payment were honorable and practicable, it would prove disastrous to the financial interests of the Government and the general prosperity of the country. I crave the attention and the indulgence of the House while I recapitulate the essential facts in support of my assertion.

“The issue of the five-twenty bonds was originally authorized by the Act of February 25th, 1862, which provided for the large amount of \$500,000,000. It is this series which was successfully disposed of by Jay Cooke & Co. in 1863, and of which a great proportion was subsequently purchased by foreign capitalists. It will be borne in mind that up to that time in all the loan bills passed by Congress, not one word had ever been said in regard to coin payment

either of bond or coupon ; and yet it will be equally borne in mind that coin payment, both of the principal and interest of the public debt, has been the invariable rule from the foundation of the Government. No instance to the contrary can be found in our history. In the pithy language of Nathaniel Macon, 'our Government was a hard-money Government, founded by hard-money men, and its debts are hard-money debts.'

"It will be still further borne in mind that when the bill authorizing the original issue of five-twenties was under discussion in Congress no man of any party, either in the Senate or the House, ever intimated that these bonds were to be paid in anything else than gold and silver. The issue of legal-tender notes of contemporaneous origin was regarded as a temporary expedient, forced upon us by the cruel necessities and demands of war, and it was universally conceded that the specie basis was to be resumed long before the bonds should mature for payment. And in order that the public creditor might have the amplest assurance of the payment of both principal and interest in coin it was specially enacted that all duties on imports should be paid in coin, and the amount thus raised was distinctly pledged, not only to the payment of the interest in coin, but to the formation of a sinking fund for the ultimate redemp-

tion of the principal in coin. This provision is so important that I quote it entire. After providing that the duties shall be paid in coin, the act devotes the amount so collected to the following specific purposes:—

“ ‘First, To the payment in coin of the interest on the bonds of the United States.

“ ‘Second, To the purchase or payment of one per cent. of the entire debt of the United States, to be made within each fiscal year after the first day of July, 1862, which is to be set apart as a sinking-fund, and the interest of which shall be in like manner applied to the purchase or payment of the public debt, as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time direct.’

“Much carping and criticism have been expended on the second clause of this provision, mainly by those who seem desirous of wresting and distorting its plain and obvious meaning. Brushing aside all fine-spun construction and cunning fallacy, it is manifest that the sinking fund herein authorized was primarily to be formed from coin, and that it was only to be invested and re-invested in securities whose interest was equally pledged in coin; that this process was not to be confined to any specific number of years, but was limited only by the amount and the duration of the debt which was ultimately to be redeemed by the sinking fund thus constituted. The sinking fund was thus to receive an annual incre-

ment in coin amounting to the one-hundredth part of the entire debt of the Government; and this increment was to be invested only in securities which would yield coin interest for the further increment of the fund. It would be difficult to conceive how the language of an enactment could more distinctly recognize and provide for the ultimate coin payment of the entire bonded debt of the nation. Instead of the Government having the right at this late day to change its coin obligation into one of paper, it seems to me that the public creditors could with far more consistency allege that the Government had not kept faith with them by failing to provide the sinking fund which was guaranteed at the outset as one of the special securities of the loan.

“But the argument does not rest merely on the after-construction of a statute to prove that the principal of the five-twenties is payable in coin. The declarations in Congress when the measure was under consideration were numerous and specific. Indeed, no other possible mode of payment was even hinted at, and Mr. Stevens, then Chairman of the Ways and Means, was emphatic and repeated in his assertions that the bonds were redeemable in coin. He stated this fact no less than three times in his speech of February 6th, 1862, giving it all the prominence and emphasis that iteration and reitera-

tion could impart. He spoke of the 'redemption in gold in twenty years' as one of the special inducements for capitalists to invest, and he gave, in every form of words, the sanction of his influential position and great name, to the maintainance of the coin standard in the payment of the bonds.

"It may astonish even the gentleman from Pennsylvania himself to be reminded that within less than three years from the date of these declarations he asserted on this floor—referring to the five-twenty bonds—that 'it is just as clear as anything is clear that the interest is payable in gold, but the principal in lawful money.' He made this startling statement in answer to a question addressed to him by my honorable friend from Ohio [Mr. Spalding], and the gentleman from Massachusetts has quoted it in his argument on this question as though it had been made when the five-twenty bill was originally introduced, and was to be taken as the authorized opinion of the Ways and Means Committee at that time. I have already shown that the gentleman from Pennsylvania was a firm advocate of coin payment, and that a considerable period had elapsed before he experienced his marvelous change of opinion on this question. But it is due to the gentleman from Pennsylvania to say that, late as he was in this declaration, he was in advance of other gentlemen who have since

figured prominently as advocates of the doctrine. Should this scheme of repudiation ever succeed, it is but just to give the gentleman from Pennsylvania the honor of first proposing it. He announced it on this floor while yet the gentleman from Massachusetts was doing honorable service on the tented field, and while Mr. Pendleton was still adhering to those hard-money theories of which he was a conspicuous defender during his service in this House.

“But I digress. I was stating that while the original five-twenty bill was pending the declaration that the bonds were redeemable in coin was constantly repeated. It was the ground assumed by every member of the Committee of Ways and Means, so far as the record shows, and it was likewise the ground taken by the Finance Committee of the Senate, Mr. Fessenden and other members being on record in many ways to that effect. While so many gentlemen in both branches of Congress were repeating that these bonds were redeemable in coin, it is a significant circumstance, as already intimated, that no one ventured the opposite opinion. The universality of the understanding at that time is that which renders a different construction now so reprehensible. Mr. Pendleton was present in his seat during the whole discussion of the measure, and he was an active and frequent participant therein.

Then was his time to have enunciated his scheme of greenback payment if he ever intended it in good faith. As a gentleman of candor, however, I am sure he will confess that he never dreamed of such an idea until long after the bonds were purchased by the people, and possibly not until some prospect of party advantage lured him to the adoption of a theory which is equally at war with the letter of the law and with sound principles of finance.

"After the bill became a law, Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, proceeded to place the loan formally on the market, and following the uniform previous practice of the Government, and especially adopting the language used by Mr. Stevens, and other gentlemen in both branches of Congress, he officially proclaimed through the loan agents of the Government that the five-twenty bonds were 'a six per cent. loan, the interest and principal payable in coin.' It was on this basis, with this understanding, with this public proclamation, that the people were asked to subscribe to the loan. They had the assurance of an unbroken practice on the part of the Government, rendered still more significant by the provision for a sinking fund in coin; they had the general assurance of both branches of Congress, especially expressed through the appropriate channels of the Chairman of Finance in the Senate and

the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House, and further and finally enforced by a distinct declaration to that effect by the public advertisement proposing the loan to the people, issued by the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury. If anything could constitute an honorable contract between borrower and lender—between Government and people—then was it a contract that the five-twenty bonds should be redeemed in coin.

“I have been thus minute, and possibly tedious, in regard to the facts attending the issue of the first series of five-twenties because in effect that established the rule for all subsequent issues. The principle laid down so clearly in the proposal for the first loan was steadily adhered to afterward. It is quite true that the Chairman of Ways and Means [Mr. Stevens], as I have already said, changed his ground on the question, but he failed to influence Congress, notwithstanding his parade of terrible figures showing the utter impossibility of ever paying coin interest, to say nothing of coin principal. The gentleman can recall his statistics with amusement, if not with advantage, from that grave of unfulfilled prophecies to which he, in common with the rest of us, have sent many baseless predictions.

“The next loan bill passed by Congress was that of March 3d, 1863, authorizing the borrowing of

\$900,000,000. This is commonly known as the ten-forty act, and it contains the special provision that both principal and interest shall be payable in coin. But this provision was never inserted by way of discrimination against the five-twenties, implying that they were to be paid in paper currency. Its origin palpably discredits any such inference. It was moved as an amendment by Mr. Thomas, of Massachusetts, and it was moved to meet and repel the first covert insinuation that any bond of the United States was redeemable in anything else than coin. The Chairman of Ways and Means, in apparent forgetfulness of his declaration the preceding year, had for the first time intimated that the principal of United States bonds was payable in paper money, and the amendment of Mr. Thomas, as the discussion reported in the *Globe* clearly discloses, was intended as a sharp protest against this heresy of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and as such it was adopted by the House by a majority so overwhelming that its opponents did not call for a division. During the discussion, Mr. Horton, of Ohio, a distinguished member of the Ways and Means, and a gentleman of very high character in every respect, said :

“I wish to state here that the Committee of Ways and Means, in framing this bill, never dreamed that these twenty-year bonds were to be payable in anything other than coin

until the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens] told it yesterday upon the floor of the House.'

"In this connection I desire the special attention of the House to one fact of conclusive import, and it is this: at the time this ten-forty loan bill was passed, March 3d, 1863, only \$25,000,000 of the five-twenty loan, authorized the year before, had been disposed of. It was in the succeeding summer and autumn of 1863, especially after the triumph of the Union arms at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, that those marvelous sales of \$500,000,000 were effected through the Government agency of Jay Cooke & Co. And yet the gentleman from Massachusetts would have us believe that the people subscribed for a loan of \$500,000,000 that was payable in five years in paper currency, when another loan, for a larger amount, to run forty years, expressly payable in coin, was already authorized and about to be put on the market. Such a conclusion cannot be reconciled even with the common sanity, to say nothing of the proverbial shrewdness of those who invested their money in the five-twenty loan. Every one can see, sir, that not one dollar of the five-twenty loan could have been disposed of on the understanding that the bonds were redeemable in currency, while another loan for a longer period, possibly at the same rate of interest, for the bill so allowed, and absolutely re-

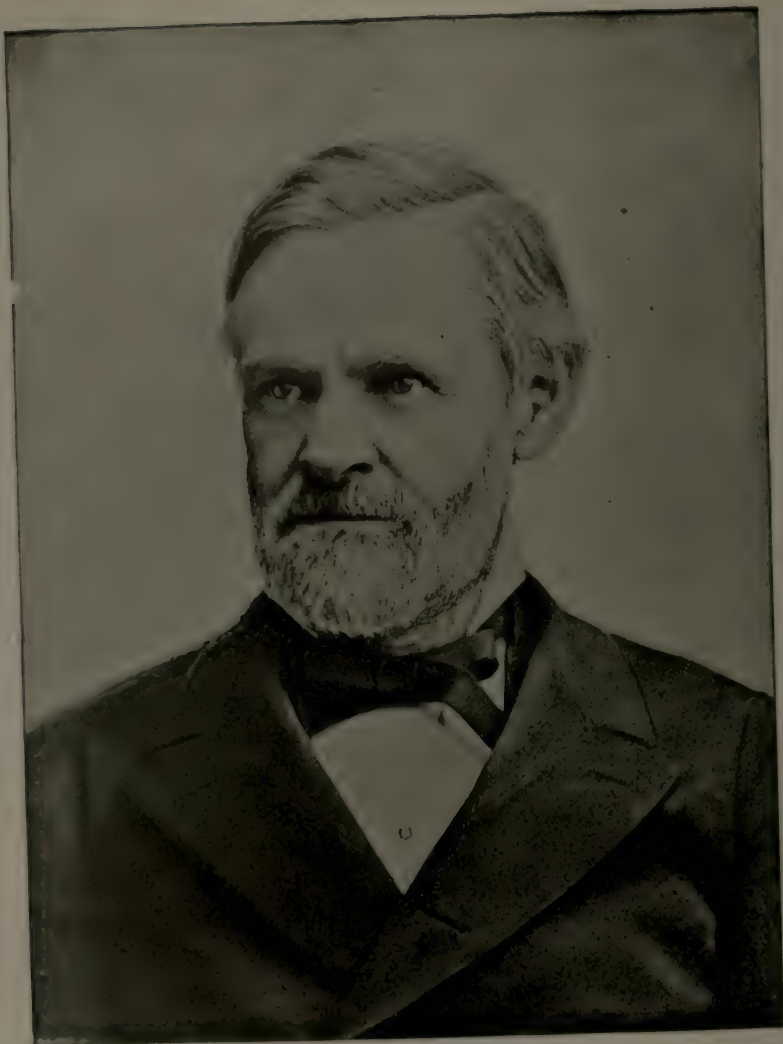
deemable in coin, was already authorized, and immediately to be offered to the public.

“The next loan bill in the order of time was the Act of March 3d, 1864, which was merely supplementary to the ten-forty bill, whose history I have just reviewed. It covered the amount of \$200,000,000, and, like the bill to which it formed a supplement, it provided for both interest and principal to be paid in coin. Under this bill more than one hundred and seventy-five million dollars were negotiated, partly in ten-forties and partly in five-twenties; by far the greater part in the former. But as some five-twenties were negotiated under it, the gentleman from Massachusetts, even on the line of logic which he has sought to travel, will be compelled to acknowledge that they were payable in coin, and hence, according to his theory, some of the five-twenties are redeemable in coin and some in paper—a distinction which has never yet been proclaimed, and the equity of which would hardly be apparent to the holders of the same description of bonds—identical in phrase, and differing only in the subordinate and immaterial circumstance of date.

“The last loan bill to which I need specially refer is that of June 30th, 1864, under the provisions of which the five-twenties bearing that date were issued. The seven-thirties, authorized by the same act, as

well as by the subsequent acts of January 28th and March 3d. 1865, were convertible into five-twenties of the same tenor and description with those whose issue was directly authorized; so that, in reviewing the history of the loan bill of June 30th, 1864, I shall, in effect, close the narrative of Congressional proceedings in regard to five-twenty bonds. The history of that bill shall be brief. It was discussed in its various provisions very elaborately in both branches of Congress. As reported from the Ways and Means Committee it was worded like all previous bonds, promising to pay so many dollars to the holder, without specifying that they were to be anything else than coin dollars, in which United States bonds had always been paid. Toward the close of the discussion Mr. Brooks, of New York, then, as now, a member of this House, moved to insert an amendment providing especially that the bonds should be 'payable in coin.' Mr. Brooks was answered by Mr. Hooper, of Massachusetts, on behalf of the Ways and Means Committee, as follows:—

“ ‘The bill of last year, the \$900,000,000 bill, contained these words, but it was not deemed necessary or considered expedient to insert them in this bill. I will send to the desk and ask to have read, as a part of my reply to the gentleman from New York, a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury giving his views upon this point.’ ”



HON. JOHN SHERMAN.

“ ‘The clerk read as follows from Secretary Chase’s letter dated May 18th, 1864 :—

“ ‘It has been the constant usage of the Department to redeem all coupon and registered bonds, forming part of the funded or permanent debt of the United States, in coin, and this usage has not been deviated from during my administration of its affairs.

“ ‘The five-twenty sixes, payable twenty years from date, though redeemable after five years, are considered as belonging to the funded or permanent debt, and so also are the twenty years sixes, into which the three years seven-thirty notes are convertible. These bonds, therefore, according to the usage of the Government, are payable in coin.’

“Apparently satisfied with this statement, Mr. Brooks withdrew his amendment, regarding the point as conclusively settled I suppose, not only by the uniform practice of the Government, but by the special declaration of the Secretary of the Treasury, who immediately afterward proceeded on the basis of that letter to put the bonds on the market. Mr. Hooper stated the case well when he said it was ‘not deemed necessary or considered expedient’ to insert coin payment in this bill; ‘not necessary’ for the practice of the Government and the assurances of the Treasury Department in its advertisements in proposing for loans, conclusively settled the point; and not ‘considered expedient,’ because to specially insert coin payment in all the loan bills except that of February 25th, 1862, under which \$500,000,000 of

five-twenties had been sold, might, in the end, by the *exclusio unius*, give some shadow of ground for the mischievous and groundless inference which is now sought to be drawn.

“ We thus find that the voice of Congress has been uniform and consistent in support of the principle of paying the bonded debt in coin. No vote in Congress, even implying the opposite theory, has ever been given; even the weighty influence and conceded ability of the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania failing to carry with him any support whatever when he made his surprising and unprecedented change on this question. But the public creditors did not rely solely on the declarations of leading men in Congress in regard to coin payment, nor did they rest wholly on the past practice and the good faith of the Government. They had, in addition to both these strong grounds of confidence and assurance, the more direct and explicit guaranty of the Treasury Department, the authorized agent of the Government, speaking *ex cathedra*, with the knowledge and assent of Congress.

“ I have already quoted Secretary Chase’s significant declarations in his letters and his public proposals for loans, and I have now to quote one of his equally significant acts. At the close of 1862 the twenty year loan of 1842, amounting to nearly \$3,000,000,

fell due. Nothing was said in that loan about coin payment, and thus a grand opportunity was afforded to test the theory of paper payment. Circumstances all conspired to favor such a policy if it could be honorably adopted. Gold was at a high premium, and the Government was passing through the darkest and most doubtful hours of the whole struggle. Could there have been even a decent pretext to pay the debt in paper currency the temptation was surely great enough to resort to it, if not fully to justify it. But in the face of all the adverse circumstances; with gold very high and daily rising; with expenses enormous and daily increasing; with resources already embarrassed and daily growing more so, and with a military situation rendered well-nigh desperate by months of almost unbroken disaster, Secretary Chase decided that the faith of the Government demanded that its funded debt, falling due no matter when and owned by no matter whom, must be paid in coin. And it was paid in coin; and no voice but the voice of approval was raised in either branch of Congress. The course of Secretary Chase was not only honorable to himself and the country, but it was in the highest degree wise merely from the stand-point of worldly wisdom; for it created so profound a confidence in the good faith of our Government that it aided us incalculably in the negotiation

of all our great loans for the war. When the Government paid its debt to the uttermost farthing at such a time capitalists at once argued that there never could come a crisis when any evasion of public obligation would be resorted to. It has been reserved for the gentleman of Massachusetts, and the gentleman from Ohio, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania to propose that our Government should adopt a policy in the sunshine and prosperity of peace which it scorned to resort to in the storms and adversities of war.

“The course of Secretary Chase in guaranteeing coin payment on all bonds of the United States was followed by his successors, Secretary Fessenden and Secretary McCulloch. The words of Mr. Fessenden are entitled to great weight in the premises, for he had been Chairman of Finance in the Senate during the passage of all the loan bills, had elaborately discussed them in turn, and had as largely as any single member in either branch of Congress shaped their provisions. His views on the question at issue may be briefly presented by the following extract from his official report made to Congress in December, 1864 :

“‘Though forced to resort to the issue of paper for the time, the idea of a specie basis was not lost sight of, as the payment of interest on long loans in coin was amply secured.

And though in several of the acts authorizing the issue of bonds at long periods payment of the principal at maturity in coin is not specifically provided, the omission, it is believed, was accidental, as there could have been no intention to make a distinction between the different classes of securities in this regard.'

"It will be noted that this declaration of Mr. Fessenden, made in his official report, was at the very time of the negotiation of the five-twenties of 1864, and preceded the large sale of seven-thirties which were convertible into five-twenties. So that in effect it was an additional guaranty of coin payment on the part of the Government, operating at once as the condition and the inducement of the loan.

"It is well known that Secretary McCulloch entertains precisely the same opinions that were so freely expressed by Messrs. Chase and Fessenden, and he placed himself on record on the question by his letter to L. P. Morton & Co., of New York, wherein he says, under date of November 15th, 1886:

"'I regard, as did also my predecessors, all bonds of the United States as payable in coin. The bonds which have matured since the suspension of specie payments have been so paid, and I have no doubt that the same will be true with all others. This being, as I understand it to be, the established policy of the Government, the five-twenty bonds of 1862 will either be called in at the expiration of five years from their date and paid in coin, or be permitted to run until the Government is prepared to pay them in coin.'

“In view of the uniform declarations of the Treasury Department, made through official reports, through public proposals for loans, and through personal letters of assurance, all guaranteeing coin payment of the five-twenty bonds, I submit that the Government is bound thereto, even if there were no other obligation expressed or implied. These official and unofficial promulgations from the Treasury Department were made with the full knowledge of Congress, and without the slightest expression of dissent on the part of that body. Had Congress not believed or intended that the five-twenty bonds were to be paid in coin, the Secretary should not have been allowed, with its evident assent, so to advertise; and for Congress, after this significant permission and warrant, to step forward at this late day and declare itself not bound by the conditions published by the Secretary is simply to place the United States Government in the position of a man playing a ‘confidence game,’ in which the Treasury Department and Congress are the confederate knaves, and the whole mass of bond-holders the unfortunate victims.

“But now, Mr. Chairman, suppose, for the sake of argument, we admit that the Government may fairly and legally pay the five-twenty bonds in paper currency, what then? I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts to tell us, what then? It is easy, I know,

to issue as many greenbacks as will pay the maturing bonds, regardless of the effect upon the inflation of prices and the general derangement of business. Five hundred millions of the five-twenties are now payable, and, according to the mode suggested, all we have to do is to set the printing-presses in motion, and 'so long as rags and lampblack hold out' we need have no embarrassment about paying our national debt. But the ugly question recurs, What are you going to do with the greenbacks thus put afloat? Five hundred millions this year, and eleven hundred millions more on this theory of payment by the year 1872, so that within the period of four or five years we would have added to our paper money the trifling inflation of \$1,600,000,000.

"Payment of the five-twenty bonds in paper currency involves, therefore, a limitless issue of greenbacks, with attendant evils of great magnitude. The worst evil of the whole is the delusion which calls this a payment at all. It is no payment in any proper sense, for it neither gives the creditor what he is entitled to, nor does it release the debtor from subsequent responsibility. You may get rid of the five-twenty by issuing the greenback, but how will you get rid of the greenback except by paying coin? The only escape from ultimate payment of coin is to declare that as a nation we permanently and finally re-

nounce all idea of ever attaining a specie standard; that we launch ourselves upon an ocean of paper money, without shore or sounding, with no rudder to guide us, and no compass to steer by. This is precisely what is involved if we adopt this mischievous suggestion of 'a new way to pay old debts.' Our fate in attempting such a course may be easily read in the history of similar follies both in Europe and in our own country. Prostration of credit, financial disaster, wide-spread distress among all classes of the community would form the closing scenes in our career of gratuitous folly and national dishonor. From such an abyss of sorrow and humiliation it would be a painful and toilsome effort to regain as sound a position in our finances as we are asked voluntarily to abandon to-day."

Toward the close of the session, upon the 23d of June, 1868, Mr. Blaine completed his good financial record by the following opinion on the bill to tax United States bonds. He said: "The fact that the bonds of the United States are exempt from State and municipal taxation has created discontent among the people—the belief prevailing quite generally that if this exemption could be removed the local burdens of the taxpayer would be immediately and essentially lightened. Many persons assert this belief from a spirit of mischievous demagogism, and many

do so from sincere conviction. To the latter class I beg to submit some facts and suggestions which may modify if not entirely change their conclusions.

“ The total coin-bearing debt of the United States, the conversion of seven-thirties being now practically completed, amounts to a little more than \$2,100,000,000 ; of this large amount, some \$200,000,000 draws but five per cent. interest, a rate not sufficiently high in the present condition of the money market to provoke hostilities or suggest the especial necessity of taxation. Indeed it may be safely said that there never has been any popular dissatisfaction with regard to the non-taxation of the five per cents., it being agreed by common consent that such a rate of interest was not unreasonable on a loan negotiated at such a time.

“ The agitation may, therefore, be regarded as substantially confined to the six per cent. coin-bearing bonds, which amount to \$1,900,000,000. Many people honestly but thoughtlessly believe that if this class of bonds could be taxed by local authority the whole volume represented by them would at once be added to the lists of the assessor. It is my purpose to show that this conclusion is totally unfounded, and that if the right of local taxation existed in its amplest extent, but a

minor fraction of the bonds could by any possibility be subjected to larger local tax than they already pay.

“The entire amount of these bonds, as I have stated, is \$1,900,000,000; and of this total, by the best and most careful estimates attainable, at least \$650,000,000 are now held in Europe. This amount could not, therefore, be reached by any system of local taxation, however searching. Deducting the amount thus held abroad, we find the amount held at home is reduced to \$1,250,000,000.

“But of this \$1,250,000,000, more than one-third, or to speak with accuracy, about \$425,000,000, are held by the national banks, and no form of property in the United States pays so large a tax, both local and general, as these banks. The stock, the depositories, and the deposits which these \$425,000,000 of bonds represent pay full local tax at the highest rate, beside a national tax averaging about two and a half per cent. Were the power of local taxation made specific on the bonds held by the national banks they could not yield a dollar more than is now realized. It thus follows that the \$1,250,000,000 of bonds in this country, presumptively escaping local taxation, must be reduced by the amount represented by the banks, and hence we find the aggregate falls to \$825,000,000.

“The reduction, however, goes still farther; for it must be remembered that the savings banks have invested their deposits in these bonds to the amount of \$175,000,000. In some States by local law the deposits of savings banks are exempt from taxation as an incentive to thrift and economy. In other States where the deposits are taxed, as in Connecticut, it has been held by judicial decision that the fact of their investment in United States bonds does not exempt them from taxation. Hence these \$175,000,000 thus invested in savings-bank deposits are either locally taxable or, if exempt, it is by State law and not by virtue of the general exemption of the bonds. It thus follows that the \$825,000,000 must be further reduced by this sum of \$175,000,000, leaving but \$650,000,000 not already included within the scope of local taxation.

“But there is a still further reduction of \$30,000,000 of bonds held by the life insurance companies on precisely the same terms as the deposits of savings banks—that is, either taxed locally or, if exempt, deriving the exemption from the local law. The surplus earnings and reserve of these life insurance companies invested to the extent of \$30,000,000 in United States bonds are as open to taxation when invested in that form as though they were held in State or railroad securities. Deducting these

\$30,000,000 we find the untaxed bonds reduced to \$620,000,000.

“ There is still another large reduction ; for the fire and marine insurance companies, the annuity and trust companies, and other corporations which cannot readily be classed, hold in the aggregate over \$125,000,000 of bonds ; and these are held on precisely the same basis as those held by the savings banks and the life insurance companies. These numerous corporations have their capital stock, their reserves, and their surplus earnings invested in Government bonds to the extent named, and they are in this form as open to taxation and are actually taxed as much as though they were invested in any other form of security. Making the deduction of this \$125,000,000 we find remaining but \$495,000,000 of the six per cent. gold-bearing bonds that are not already practically subjected to local taxation. Allowing for the possibility that \$100,000,000 of the five per cents. are held instead of six per cents. in all the channels of investment I have named, and it follows that at the outside figure there are to-day in the whole country less than \$600,000,000 of Government sixes not fully subjected to the power of local taxation. And these \$600,000,000 are rapidly growing less as the various corporate institutions I have named continue to

invest their funds in the bonds. These institutions desire a security that is of steady value, not liable to fluctuation, and at all times convertible into money ; and hence they seek Government bonds in preference to any other form of investment. The high premium on the bonds induces individuals to part with them, and hence they are readily transferred to corporate ownership, where they become, in effect, at once subject to local taxation, and are no longer obnoxious to the charge of evading or escaping their just share of municipal burden. In the hands of individuals the bonds may be concealed, but in the possession of corporations concealment is necessarily impossible.

“ If these statistical statements needed any verification it would be supplied by the examination of the income returns recently made under oath and published in all the large cities of the country, disclosing the fact that the amount of bonds held by the wealthy men of the country has been continually growing less, just as they have been absorbed by foreign purchase and by corporate investment. The correctness of these income returns in reference to the investment in bonds will be accepted even by the incredulous and uncharitable, when it is remembered that the interest of those making them was to exaggerate rather than depreciate the respective

amounts of bonds held by them. Instead, then, of \$1,900,000,000 of these bonds running free of taxation, it is clear that less than \$600,000,000 are open to that charge—less than one-third of the whole amount. The remainder, largely more than two-thirds of the whole, are either held abroad, where no local taxation can reach them, or they are held at home in such form as subjects them to local taxation.

“Let us suppose that we were now in possession of the full power to tax by local authority these \$600,000,000 of bonds presumptively owned by individuals! Would we realize anything from it? On its face the prospect might be fair and inviting, but in practice it would assuredly prove delusive and deceptive. The trouble would be that the holders of the bonds could not be found. No form of property is so easily concealed, none so readily transferred back and forth, none so difficult to trace to actual ownership. We have hundreds of millions of State bonds, city bonds, and railroad securities in this country, and yet every one knows that it is only an infinitesimal proportion of this vast investment that is ever represented on the books of assessors and tax-collectors. As a pertinent illustration I might cite the case of the bonds of my own State, of which there are over five millions in existence to-day, largely held as a favorite invest-

ment by the citizens of Maine. Of this whole sum I am safe in saying that scarcely a dollar is found on the lists of any assessor in the State.

“The facility for concealing ownership in national bonds is far greater than in any other form of security, and the proportion in the hands of individuals that would escape the assessment of local taxes may be inferred with reasonable certainty from the analogies I have suggested, which are familiar to all who have given the least attention to the subject. Indeed, I venture to assert with confidence that if the power of local taxation of these bonds were fully accorded to-day, the tax-lists of our cities and towns would not be increased on an average one per cent. Many of those who to-day may be ambitious to parade their bonds when protected by what is deemed an offensive exemption, would suddenly have no bonds when the power of taxation applied to them. Indeed, the utter failure to realize anything from this source, if the power to test it were granted, would in the end create more dissatisfaction than that exemption, which, in theory, is offensive, but in practice is absolutely of no consequence whatever.

“But it may be asked, ‘Why are not the bonds taxed by national authority?’ Granted, it will be urged that the power of local taxation would be nugatory and valueless, ‘that affords all the stronger

reason for taxing the bonds by direct Congressional enactment.' In answer to this, I have only to say that a tax levied directly upon the coupon is simply an abatement of interest, and that result can be reached in a better and more satisfactory and more honorable way. The determination manifested by this Congress and by the great Republican Convention at Chicago to maintain the national faith has already worked a large appreciation in the value of the bonds, and with the strengthening of our credit, which results from an honest policy, we shall speedily be able to fund our debt on a lower scale of interest, running down to five, four and a half, and ultimately to four per cent. per annum. Should we proceed, however, in violation of good faith and of the uniform practice of civilized nations, to hold back part of the stipulated interest instead of effecting an honorable exchange of bonds to the mutual advantage of the Government and the public creditor, we should only punish ourselves, produce calamitous results in the business world, and permanently injure our national fame.

"To withhold one per cent. of the interest under the plea of a national tax this year might be followed by withholding two per cent. next year, and three per cent. the year ensuing. To enter upon such a policy would produce alarm at home and distrust abroad,



HON. EUGENE HALE.

for every man holding a bond would be forced to count his rate of interest not on what was stipulated in the contract, but on what might be the will and caprice of Congress in its annual withholding of a portion of the interest under the pretense of a tax. Under such a policy our bonds would be returned upon us from Europe with panic-like rapidity, and the drain upon our specie resources would produce an immediate and disastrous crisis in monetary circles. If even one-half of our bonds held in Europe were suddenly sent home it would drain us of two hundred and fifty millions of specie, and the financial distress throughout the land would be beyond the power of calculation or imagination. And yet that is the precise result involved if we should follow the policy advocated by those who urge us to tax the coupon and withhold one or two per cent. of the interest. Let us reject such counsels, and adhere to the steady, straightforward course dictated alike by good policy and good faith. Let us never forget that, in the language of the Chicago platform, 'the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, either partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.'"

The impeachment resolutions against President Johnson were passed during the Fortieth Congress on the 24th of February, 1868. Mr. Blaine, while he had opposed the impeachment resolutions offered in the preceding year, now yielded to the general sentiment of the majority and voted aye on their passage.

Mr. Blaine took a conspicuous part in the Presidential campaign of 1868. The Republican Convention which met in Chicago on the 20th of May expressed a spirit of great disappointment over the failure to impeach President Johnson. The Republican Senators who had voted against his impeachment were read out of the party and for a time afterward were almost ostracized by their party associates. The expression "Johnsonized" was used as a term to describe a man who had betrayed a trust, and everywhere partisan spirit was extreme. Mr. Blaine spoke only at the meetings in the State of Maine. The election of General Grant was a foregone conclusion from the start, and but little campaign speaking was necessary.

Mr. Blaine performed a great deal of work in the Fortieth Congress which does not appear in the record of debates. He was on the leading committees in the House, and was the originator of bills relating to the army, the navy, post-offices, the Congressional

Library, the Indian reservations, private relief of individuals, the rights of common carriers between the States, the Treasury Department, the cotton tax, funding bills, the Mexican treaty, foreign commerce, special election cases, river and harbor improvements, House rules, military laws, and even the rearrangement of the rooms in the Capitol. He was very closely associated in those days with Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, who was as much of a worker and student as Mr. Blaine.

CHAPTER XII.

MR. BLAINE'S ELECTION AS SPEAKER.—THE GREAT POWER OF THAT OFFICE AS COMPARED WITH THE SAME OFFICE IN ANY OF THE LEADING LEGISLATURES OF THE WORLD.

THE Forty-first Congress met on the 4th of March, 1869, on the very hour following the adjournment of the Fortieth Congress. On the same day General Grant was inaugurated President of the United States. Schuyler Colfax, who had been the official head of the Republican majority in the House, was now transferred to the other end of the Capitol as the presiding officer of the Senate through his office of Vice-President. Mr. Blaine was elected to the Speakership to succeed Mr. Colfax, without any real opposition. He had become the recognized leader on the Republican side. There is no part of Mr. Blaine's career that is more worthy of commendation, and which is less subject to criticism than this very period of his history. He had begun his political career as an opponent of slavery. He had been to the great national Conventions, beginning in 1856, until the party was fully formed. His early advocacy of Fremont in the Philadelphia Convention was

followed by his vigorous support of Mr. Lincoln at Chicago. To the cause of the Union he was always staunch and true. His course in the field of legislation is one that can be studied with profit by future legislators. His mastery of the subjects then under consideration was the result of hard work and careful application. If he had any special genius at that time it was for hard work. He had a faculty for presenting clearly and forcibly the results of his studies. He adhered very closely to facts, and indulged in but few so-called oratorical flights. He was quite devoted to practical things rather than to the fanciful or the sentimental. It was his fondness for study, his love for logical and mathematical questions which made him such a careful student of the rules of the House. These rules have grown year by year until they have become the most complex regulations ever devised for the governing of a legislative body. It must be remembered that these rules are only made for each Congress, and that each new Congress has it in its power to adopt these rules as a whole or to reject them entirely or in part, or else go directly to a new code. Long custom, however, has ordained that each Congress shall accept these complicated rules as its own and to modify them only as its Committee of Rules shall suggest from time to time.

The rules being so complicated and so involved, they of a necessity place great power in the hands of the Speaker, who is called upon to construe them. There is no presiding officer in any legislative body in the world who has one tithe of the power belonging to the Speaker of our House of Representatives. Nominally, the House of Representatives possesses all the power, and what the Speaker is called upon to exercise is merely a delegated power which can be curtailed or entirely taken away, if the House should so will. But the House never does so will; and so from time to time new powers have been created, until the Speaker has much greater influence in shaping and molding legislation, which after all is the most important part of the Government, than the President of the United States has.

When Mr. Blaine was elected Speaker his official rank was that of third in the Government. The President came first, the Vice-President next, and the Speaker directly after. According to the then existing law, he was also third in order for the succession to the Presidency in the event of the death or resignation of the two officials above him. Since that time the law has been changed and the order of succession changed to the Cabinet officers, according to their rank. The object of this change was to keep the administration in the same party hands, for often

a Speaker of a House might be of one party while the President and Vice-President could belong to another.

The Speaker has the power to appoint all of the committees, and although the House has the right to change his selections and can substitute an entirely new list, the majority which elects a Speaker has always approved his work. So rigidly are his lists of appointments followed that even the committees themselves now never venture to change the chairman selected by a Speaker. Although in many instances his selections have been unpopular. In one or two noted cases he has certainly shown a downright favoritism which would have been resented in almost any other body of legislators in the world. Where a member objects to the work of the Speaker he may be marked for punishment. The Speaker has such a power when in the chair in his recognition of members, in his directing and shaping legislation, that if he wishes to use this power arbitrarily he can negative absolutely the work of any individual member. The Speaker of the House of Representatives is always a partisan, and is the spokesman and chief of the majority. This is essentially different from the office of Speaker in the English House of Commons. There the House has never delegated its powers as we have done. It

retains the right to make its own committees, and through the co-operation of the Cabinet Ministers on the floor works openly in the Committee of the Whole upon the items of the estimates necessary for the maintenance of the various departments of the Government. The heads of the English departments submit their estimates in person, and these estimates take the place of our reports of committees. The English Speaker is purely a presiding officer, and his office is of so little importance, from a political standpoint, that he holds this position often for many years without any regard to the character of the majority in the House of Commons. The same Speaker will preside with the same impartiality over a Liberal majority as over a Conservative one, although he may be an extreme Tory in politics. His only rule of action is to be fair and to decide disputed parliamentary questions strictly according to their merits.

With us the estimates of the various departments go first to committees appointed by the Speaker. These committees use these estimates simply as a basis for the preparation of bills for the maintenance of the Government, and may differ wholly in character and in amounts from the demands of the department heads. No one has apparently less influence upon Congressional legislation than the

President of the United States. His message is treated always as a perfunctory document, and while it is regularly and respectfully referred to the proper committees for consideration, it is very rare that any suggestion made by the Executive has any practical result.

In the hands of an able, energetic, well-equipped man the power of the Speaker is very great. With Mr. Blaine the office was made second only to that of the President. The Speaker is elected by a strictly party vote. The Republicans select by caucus the man they wish to be considered as their leader, and if they are in a majority in the House this caucus vote is equivalent to his election as Speaker which comes later in the open House as a mere formality. The minority, too, holds its caucus and nominates its chief. He receives the complimentary vote of his side in the formal election in the open House, and he leads the debate of the opposition.

The Democratic chief who received the complimentary vote of the Democrats when Mr. Blaine was first elected Speaker was Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana. Mr. Kerr, who was conspicuous as the leader of the Tariff Reformers in that day, became afterward Speaker when the Democrats first captured the House of Representatives six years later, and died in that office, of consumption. Mr. Blaine received one hun-

dred and thirty-five votes, representing the Republican side of the House, against the fifty-seven votes cast for Mr. Kerr.

There were a number of important additions to the membership of this House. A number of strong men who afterward arrived at further prominence now entered the halls of Congress for the first time. Mr. Wm. A. Wheeler, who was to be Vice-President on the ticket with Mr. Hayes, came from northern New York. Mr. Wheeler was a hard worker, a forcible speaker, and a sturdy Republican. Clarkson Nott Potter, Noah Davis, and Henry W. Slocum were the other notable additions from New York. Mr. Potter was the son of Bishop Alonzo Potter. He had the high color and manner of an English member of Parliament. He dressed in the English style. His affectations of speech and his eccentricity of manner made him the subject of many a newspaper paragraph at that time. But his real abilities and his industry made a place for him on the Democratic side. He was Chairman of the Investigating Committee which sat for so many months looking into the manner employed to secure the votes of the Southern States counted for Mr. Rutherford B. Hayes.

Mr. Eugene Hale now entered the House, where he was to serve for nine years before going to the Senate. He was Mr. Blaine's personal representative upon the

floor during his occupancy of the Speakership chair. Mr. Blaine, Mr. Garfield, and Mr. Hale worked together, both as friends and party leaders. Later, when Mr. Chas. Foster and Mr. McKinley came they were associated with these gentlemen in their friendly and political alliance. This personal alliance made on the floor of the House had no formal character. It was the natural result of the association of men who were personally agreeable to each other and who had the same political thoughts and objects in common.

In the Senate the notable additions to this Congress were Matthew H. Carpenter, Carl Schurz, Allen G. Thurman, William G. Brownlow, and Thomas A. Bayard.

Mr. Schurz, who came to the Senate as a Republican, was to afterward attack President Grant and become one of the leaders of the Liberal party. He was also, in later years, to become a vigorous opponent of Mr. Blaine, and this opposition was made none the less bitter because of the opinion expressed by Mr. Blaine in his history, where he, in speaking of Mr. Schurz, said: "Through all the centuries since Tacitus drew his vivid picture of the habits and manners of the Germans, their attachment (it might be almost called their passion) for home has been a marked and meritorious feature

of their character. To Fatherland first, and then to whatever country fate or fortune may draw them, their devotion is proverbial. This admirable trait seems altogether wanting in Mr. Schurz. When he left Germany he lived for three years in other countries of Europe—first in Switzerland, then in France, then in England. In 1852 he came to America, and resided first in Pennsylvania, then in Wisconsin, then in Michigan, then in Missouri, and then in New York. He has not become rooted and grounded anywhere; has never established a home, is not identified with any community, is not interwoven with the interests of any locality, or of any class; has no fixed relations with church, professional, political, or social life; has acquired none of the companionship and confidence which united old neighbors in the closest ties, and give to friendship its fullest development, its most gracious attributes."

This severe portraiture of Mr. Schurz has the counter-foil in a warm and friendly picture of Mr. Thurman, the great Democratic leader in the Senate, whom Mr. Blaine described in the same history with all the warmth of an ardent friend. Of Mr. Bayard Mr. Blaine made an elaborate description, the point of which is concentrated in the following sentence: "His service in the Senate has been remarkable for one leading characteristic—the power or the acci-

dental fortune to create a public impression as to his career precisely the reverse of its actual history."

The partisan passions and the differences of opinion created by the war with President Johnson gave way to a period of comparative peace; when General Grant became President the country took a long breath of relief. The Republican majority in Congress, unfettered by a dispute with the Executive, now took up the work of reconstruction, and the Rebel States began to come back into the Union.

It was during the Forty-first Congress that the entire list of Representatives of the seceding Southern States were admitted to both branches of Congress. Among these Representatives were certain Republicans who were denounced by the Southern newspaper of that period as carpet-baggers and scalawags. Anybody who went to the South from any other section was classed as a "carpet-bagger," and any white man who dared to aspire to office in the South with the aid of colored or Republican votes was a "scalawag." The reappearance of the former leaders of the Rebellion in Congress re-awakened partisan discussions. Everywhere in the South, following the relaxation of military control, there was at once intimidation of the colored voters, and a re-assertion of the supremacy of the element which had brought about secession.

Stories of outrage and violence in the South were frequently brought to the attention of the House. The Southern leaders, in return, charged that the Republicans were plundering the South, and that their every act was one of knavery and dishonesty. Upon the one side crimes of murder and midnight assassination were alleged and proved, and these were offset by stories of mal-administration. There were numerous investigating committees sent South from time to time. The evidence taken by these committees was undoubtedly colored for partisan purposes. But between the two stories of the two sides there was enough remaining to convince the North that the South was unrepentant, and unwilling to accept the results of the war, and absolutely determined to recapture its lost political control regardless of consequences.

Naturally, those who had been the most conspicuous at Washington in asserting the supremacy of the Republican party incurred the full weight of the Southern opposition. Washington city, toward the close of the Forty-first Congress, swarmed with Southern people who had been active in the Rebellion. Without exception, every Democratic Representative from the South was a former officer in the Confederate army. No man who had been loyal to the Union cause could hope to secure the election to

the smallest office in the South by the aid of Democratic votes.

These Southern men came back to Washington angry at their defeat, unreconciled and impoverished. They recognized that the North was physically richer and stronger than they, and they could never hope to capture the Government along the lines of armed resistance. They began then the new policy which has given them such a success. They resisted every act of the Republican majority to control in any way Southern affairs. Murder under the approval of State authorities was not considered so high a crime as the interference of a Federal official to protect the rights of voters. The mere presence of a Federal official upon the scene of any local contest was the signal for uproarious riot and a petition to Congress. The Southern people were so aggressive and so persistent, that they have since succeeded in the end in nullifying all of the so-called Ku-Klux legislation which Congress passed for the purpose of protecting the rights of Republican voters in the South.

At the opening of the Congress Mr. Blaine in accepting the office of Speaker, said :

“The Forty-first Congress assembles at an auspicious period in the history of our Government. The splendid and impressive ceremonial which we have just witnessed in another part of the Capitol appro-

priately symbolizes the triumphs of the past and the hopes of the future. A great chieftain, whose sword, at the head of gallant and victorious armies, saved the Republic from dismemberment and ruin, has been fitly called to the highest civic honor which a grateful people can bestow. Sustained by a Congress that so ably represents the loyalty, the patriotism, and the personal worth of the nation, the President this day inaugurated will assure to the country an administration of purity, fidelity, and prosperity; an era of liberty regulated by law, and of law thoroughly inspired with liberty.

“Congratulating you, gentlemen, upon the happy auguries of the day, and invoking the gracious blessing of Almighty God on the arduous and responsible labors before you, I am now ready to take the oath of office, and enter upon the discharge of the duties to which you have called me.”

Mr. Blaine took almost no part in the debates during this Congress. His knowledge of the rules and his fairness made him the subject of commendation on the Democratic side. Mr. Cox, of New York, offered a resolution of approval on the closing day of Congress. The resolution said, after a courteous preamble: “In view of the difficulties involved in the performance of the duties of the presiding officer of this House and of the able,



WM. WINDOM.

courteous, dignified, and impartial discharge of those duties by the Hon. J. G. Blaine during the present Congress, it is eminently becoming that our thanks be and they are hereby tendered to the Speaker."

This resolution was unanimously passed, and in reply Mr. Blaine said to a full house and to a vast audience which packed the galleries: "Our labors are at an end, but I delay the final adjournment long enough to return my most profound and respectful thanks for the commendation which you have been pleased to bestow upon my official course and conduct. In a deliberative body of this character, a presiding officer is fortunate if he retains the confidence and steady support of his political associates. Beyond that you give me the assurance that I have earned the respect and good-will of those from whom I am separated by party lines. Your expressions are most grateful to me and are most gratefully acknowledged.

"The Congress whose existence closes with this hour enjoys a memorable distinction. It is the first in which all of the States have been represented on this floor since the baleful winter that preceded our late bloody war. Ten years have passed since then. Years of trial and triumph, years of wild destruction, and years of careful rebuilding, and after all, and

as to the result of all, the National Government is here to-day united, strong, proud, defiant, and just with a territorial area vastly expanded, and with three additional States represented on the folds of its flag. For these prosperous fruits of our great struggle let us humbly give thanks to the God of Battles and to the Prince of Peace."

CHAPTER XIII.

STUDIES OF NEW PERSONALITIES IN THE FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS.—DEMOCRATIC LOSSES IN THE GRANT-GREELEY CAMPAIGN.

AT the convening of the Forty-second Congress Mr. Blaine was again elected Speaker. He was sent back to Congress for his fifth term by a majority of two thousand three hundred and twenty, and he had the unanimous vote of his party associates for re-election as Speaker. He received one hundred and twenty-six Republican votes against the ninety-two Democratic votes given to George W. Morgan, of Ohio. The Republican majority in the House had been cut down from seventy-eight to thirty-four. The Republicans had no longer a two-thirds majority. The Southern movement to recapture the House was growing and was ere long to become successful.

Mr. Blaine was sworn in by Mr. Dawes, the senior member of the House, Mr. Washburne, having accepted the mission to France from President Grant. Mr. Blaine, when the oath was administered, said: "The Speakership of the American House of Representatives has always been esteemed as an enviable

honor. A re-election to the position carries with it peculiar gratification in that it implies an approval of past official bearing. For this great mark of your confidence I can but return to you my sincerest thanks, with the assurance of my utmost devotion to the duties which you call upon me to discharge.

“Chosen by the party representing the political majority in this House, the Speaker owes a faithful allegiance to the principles and policy of that party. But he will fall far below the honorable requirements of his station if he fails to give to the minority their full rights under the rules which he is called upon to administer. The successful working of our grand system of government depends largely upon the vigilance of party organizations, and the most wholesome legislation which this House produces and perfects is that which results from opposing forces mutually eager and watchful and well-nigh balanced in numbers.

“The Forty-second Congress assembles at a period of general content, happiness, and prosperity throughout the land. Under the wise administration of the National Government peace reigns in all our borders, and the only serious misunderstanding with any foreign power is, we may hope, at this moment in process of honorable, cordial, and lasting adjustment. We are fortunate in meeting at such a time, in repre-

senting such constituencies, in legislating for such a country.

“Trusting, gentlemen, that our official intercourse may be free from all personal asperity, believing that all our labors will eventuate for the public good, and craving the blessing of Him without whose aid we labor in vain, I am now ready to proceed with the further organization of the House; and, as the first step thereto, I will myself take the oath prescribed by the Constitution and laws.”

The reason for the decrease of the Republican majority was owing to differences of opinion in the North concerning the wisdom of the so-called Ku-Klux legislation.

There were a number of new men in the House, and a number of changes took place in the Senate. General John A. Logan, from Illinois, took a seat in the Senate, succeeding Governor Richard Yates. Matt. W. Ransom, a former Confederate general under Robert E. Lee's command, came as Senator from North Carolina, and has since remained in continuous service. General Frank P. Blair was elected from Missouri. Henry G. Davis, one of the wealthy owners of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, who had risen to great wealth, starting as a humble brakeman, came to the Senate from West Virginia. Powell Clayton, a one-armed, blonde-mustached,

handsome military looking man, a former officer in the Union army, came from Arkansas as the " Carpet-Bag " Senator from that State. He was conspicuous for his gallant upholding of the cause of his party in Arkansas. His brother was later to be assassinated in that State by politicians who were opposed to him, and Mr. Clayton himself driven out in the re-establishment of Democratic supremacy in that State.

In the House there were several new members who were noticeable. Joseph R. Hawley, a general of the war and the editor of the *Hartford Courant*, came from Connecticut. Although born in North Carolina, no one in Connecticut has ever dreamed of calling him a carpet bagger or to introduce against him this question of his birthplace, even in the most bitter of political contests. Had the situation been reversed and had General Hawley been born in Connecticut and had then gone to North Carolina to enter politics he never could have reached the high place in public affairs without becoming a Democrat. Another notable editor was Ellis H. Roberts, of the *Utica Morning Herald*. Mr. Roberts was a distinguished-looking man with a very fair complexion, regular features set off by closely-trimmed white silky hair, and a short beard. He was a very vigorous speaker and one of the most earnest supporters of Mr. Blaine. The now present

Senator from Maine, William P. Frye, entered this House. Mr. Frye is a man of resolute, dogged type who never recedes from a position when once his mind is made up. Charles Foster who joined the Republican side of this House, and became very prominent in the discussion of tariff and financial matters, came from Ohio. Charles B. Farwell, of Chicago, and Alexander Mitchell, of Wisconsin, representing large business interests, were the most prominent of new members from the Northwest. Jeremiah M. Wilson who was to afterward investigate one section of the Credit-Mobilier history, came from Indiana. Jeremiah 'Rusk, of Wisconsin, a gallant Union soldier and a future member of President Harrison's Cabinet, came from Wisconsin.

The leading topic of the first session of this Congress was the removal of disabilities of ex-Confederates who were, as yet, disqualified from exercising any political rights by the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. This and the discussions upon the Civil Rights Bill occupied a great deal of the time of the session. In each Congress special investigating committees were sent South to take evidence concerning the continued intimidation of the colored people.

There was one personal incident which occurred during this session which attracted some attention. It was a sharp difference of opinion between Mr.

Blaine and General Butler. General Butler had accused Mr. Blaine of not being sincere in supporting a certain resolution to investigate Southern affairs. He charged that he was putting on the committee only "weak-kneed" Republicans who would find nothing, and that Mr. Blaine was already himself beginning to prove weak-kneed before this newly organized and rapidly growing Southern power. Mr. Blaine replied to this by making General Butler Chairman of the committee, and came down on the floor himself to resent what he called in the debate General Butler's "insolence and impudence." This difference of opinion led to a break between the two gentlemen, and General Butler after that never lost an opportunity to harass and annoy the Speaker by every possible device which could suggest itself to his ever-fertile mind.

The Presidential campaign of 1872, when General Grant was re-elected, was a disastrous one all the way around for the Democrats. The defection from the Republican ranks led by Mr. Schurz amounted to nothing, and the indorsement of Horace Greeley by the Democrats discouraged and disheartened the regular party voters. The Democratic majority in the Congressional election fell away, and the Republicans gained so that in the Forty-third Congress they had a majority of one hundred and nine, the Demo-

crats having only eighty of the two hundred and eighty-nine members.

The issues during the Presidential campaign were still the issues of the war. The Southern questions were still unsettled. The South still represented disorder, violence, and disregard of law. The issues of that year are very accurately defined in a speech made by Mr. Blaine at Worcester, Massachusetts, on the 28th of October. In that campaign he held that the question of maintaining inviolate the provisions of the Amendments to the Constitution was of paramount importance to the questions of the tariff, of anti-monopoly, or of the railroad and bank questions. After speaking of the difficulties of changing the Constitution and the necessity for the changes already made to secure the results of the war, he then passed to the question of the rights of the colored voters in the South. He called attention to the fact that the Amendments to the Constitution had been secured in the face of practically unanimous Democratic opposition, and that there had been no declaration since upon the part of any Democratic convention approving them; while, on the contrary, the leading Democratic writers and speakers throughout the country had advocated a policy which would result in practically nullifying them. Mr. Blaine, in speaking of the legislation which was then described by

the Democratic newspapers as the Ku-Klux law, said : " Pray, now, what is that law ? Strip it of its legal verbiage, and it is simply this—that if any citizen of the United States shall receive an injury, in his person or property, and the local authority is unable or unwilling to protect and redress him, then it is the duty of the United States Government to step in and do it. So long as the State authority shall discharge its duty there is no necessity for invoking Federal interposition ; but when State supervision is not given, and when the citizen is left without redress, then, according to the Ku-Klux law, it is the duty of the Federal Government with all its powers to vindicate the citizen in all his rights."

Mr. Blaine then showed from official reports made by the select committees of both branches of Congress that the Union men, both black and white, who had been murdered in the South since the war for purely political reasons was greater in number than those who lost their lives in the Mexican War and in the War of 1812 combined. He added that more men had been wounded in the South during this period and for the same reason than were wounded in the two wars just mentioned. To send the men who were the subjects of these injuries to the local courts or to attempt to punish the perpetrators of these crimes through the local

authorities would result only in a farcial trial and never in punishment. Mr. Blaine then called attention to particular cases where American citizens had received injuries abroad and where the whole power of the Federal Government had been invoked to secure redress, and no one had dreamed of criticising, yet at the very time he was speaking a cruel illustration of Southern intolerance had just occurred. Sixteen colored men had been killed by a mob in Tennessee for political reasons, and President Grant, who had sought to use the office of the Attorney-General to prosecute the murderers, had his path barred by the protest and action of the Governor of that State. Had sixteen British citizens been slain upon the soil of Tennessee then Great Britain would have forced the Federal Government to exercise its power for the punishment of their murderers.

Mr. Blaine placed the whole responsibility for the disturbances at the South upon the shoulders of the Democrats at the North. He said that if they would accept themselves the Constitutional Amendments and issue a joint opinion to that effect the political troubles of the South would come to an end.

Mr. Blaine was very active in this campaign, making a number of speeches throughout the country following the adjournment of Congress on the 10th of June, 1872.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BEGINNING OF THE SCANDAL PERIOD CREATED BY
THE SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS TO MAKE THE NORTH
FORGET KU-KLUX TACTICS.—THE CREDIT-MOBILIER.

DURING the Presidential campaign of that year the Democrats sought to make new issues. They persistently charged that the Republican party had grown corrupt, and that the country could only be safely trusted in the hands of the men who had done their utmost to destroy the Government and to bring the country to absolute ruin. Undoubtedly following the close of the Rebellion there were certain irregularities, which were incident to the winding up of any war involving such enormous disbursements through multifarious agencies. It would not be difficult in examining the history of any country following the necessary rush and carelessness incidental to a war period to find many instances of mal-administration and evidences here and there of wrong doing. Every incident of this kind found or suspected by the Democrats was exaggerated to an extraordinary degree, and so when the second term of Grant's administration began there ensued an era of official

scandals concerning alleged dishonesty in high office. These scandals were fomented in the columns of the Democratic newspapers until they created such an impression that the Democrats were enabled with the aid of the financial panic of 1873 after two years more to capture completely the House of Representatives.

The first great scandal was that of the celebrated Credit-Mobilier. This was the subject of numerous publications during the Presidential campaign of that year. The original publication was in the *New York Sun*. Mr. A. M. Gibson of that newspaper unearthed in Western Pennsylvania what he called the authentic history of that corporation. He charged that the Credit-Mobilier had bribed during the years of 1867 and of 1868 certain members of Congress with presents of the stock of that company for the purpose of influencing their actions upon legislation relating to the Union Pacific Railroad. Oakes Ames, a member from Massachusetts, who was at the head of the Credit-Mobilier Company, which was the construction company of the Union Pacific Railroad, was charged with either having given to certain prominent members shares in his company or with having sold the stock to them at a price much below its value.

Hardly had the House met in the second session

when Mr. Blaine himself called the attention of the House to these charges, which included the Speaker, the Vice-President-elect, the Vice-President, the then Secretary of the Treasury, and several leading members of the House. An investigation was promptly ordered. The public mind was greatly excited by the disclosures. It was shown that Oakes Ames had sold certain small blocks of stock to certain of his friends in the House and Senate, but, taken in the light of to-day, the evidence which was then regarded as so overwhelming as proof of corruption looks almost trifling. Mr. Blaine was offered ten shares of the stock as an investment. He declined to make the investment. Several other members thought well of the investment, and agreed to take a small amount in the enterprise. Not a single man who owned up frankly to the facts was injured in the public estimation. But there was at first such a storm of public indignation awakened, when it was found that Oakes Ames had actually distributed some of the shares of this company among his fellow-associates, that the members who lacked moral courage prevaricated, and in some instances actually lied in their haste to divest themselves of all connection with the affair. There was no evidence found that the vote of any member had ever been affected by the ownership of this stock, or that any serious ques-

tion relating to the Union Pacific Railroad had been considered by Congress pending the ownership of the Credit-Mobilier stock by members who were investigated. Some of the members had had their stock carried for them, and found themselves in front of this investigation in the embarrassing position of men who had dividends due to them, or who had received dividends upon stock for which they still owed. General Garfield and Schuyler Colfax were the most conspicuous and worst hit of them. This was not so much so on account of their participation in the enterprise as because of their vehement denial of any interest in the enterprise when the charges were first made. General Garfield professed to have forgotten that he had agreed to take a few of the shares. The amount was trivial and the dividend due him on the enterprise up to that time was exactly \$323. A frank statement of the real facts would have created no bad impression. General Garfield before the committee nearly broke down when presented with the evidences of his absolute ownership of the stock. I was present during his last examination when Oakes Ames brought out his famous memorandum-book and told the simple story of the investment, General Garfield almost shed tears of mortification. He escaped the censure of the committee through the personal influence of

Mr. Blaine. The work of the committee was to a certain extent farcical. It was necessary to have a scape-goat to satisfy public indignation. The committee weakly reported in favor of punishing one Republican and one Democrat. They selected Oakes Ames in the House and recommended him for expulsion on account of his alleged bribery of members. They then reported in favor of expelling Mr. Brooks, a Democratic member from New York. The findings of the House Committee were taken up in the Senate as a basis for a resolution favoring the expulsion of Senator Patterson of New Hampshire. This latter resolution was changed to one of censure. It is possible that this mitigation of the punishment recommended was owing to the fact that the Senator's term was within a few days of expiring.

The debates upon the report of the House Committee occupied the closing days of the short session of the Forty-second Congress. Public opinion was then ruthless in its condemnation of every official holder of Credit-Mobilier stock. The greatest display of virtuous indignation was on the Democratic side. The former Confederate brigadiers who had defended every charge of outrage and assassination throughout the South, during the reconstruction period, now trembled with holy indignation, at the awful thought



EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL.

that some of the Republican members had had small holdings in the stock of the Credit-Mobilier Company. The sessions were prolonged into the night. Washington City was excited and deeply moved over the sharp personalities indulged in during this debate. The galleries were packed during the day and crowded to suffocation during the night. One of the most notable scenes in this debate occurred during the closing hours of a brilliantly-lighted night session of the House. It was when General Butler took the floor and came to the rescue of Oakes Ames. He said that Ames had been cruelly made the scapegoat of cowardly members who had not had the courage to tell the truth about their associations with him, and more than intimated that the Speaker of the House was more responsible than any one for the attempt to blacken and destroy the reputation of an honest man. His description of the virtues of Oakes Ames so affected this over-wrought and much-tried capitalist that he shed tears in the face of the open House. He sat with his face turned toward General Butler, drinking in every word of his discourse with tears chasing down his face, and without thought of restraining himself. It was undoubtedly General Butler's appeal to the House which saved Oakes Ames from expulsion, and which secured a change in the proposition to that of censure of him and of Mr.

Brooks. To have done more would have placed the House in a ridiculous attitude. If Mr. Oakes Ames was really guilty of bribery, and was to be expelled for the offense, how was it possible to ignore the logical sequence that the members must have been bribed? There cannot be a briber without some one to be bribed, and so the House suddenly changed its mind, and voted for the resolution of censure.

General Garfield, up to this time, had been the unquestioned leader on the floor among the Republicans. Mr. Blaine had made him the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the great business committee of the House. To have had him cut down by the Credit-Mobilier Committee would have seriously impaired Mr. Blaine's influence in the world of politics. Mr. Garfield was his intimate friend. He had been the chosen exponent of the Speaker's policy, and so Mr. Blaine stood by him, used his influence to secure a kindly glossing over of his mistakes before the Investigating Committee, and rehabilitated him in the next Congress by reappointing him Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee at a time when General Garfield was almost without influence and standing. If General Garfield had not been re-elected the summer preceding to the next Congress it is extremely doubtful whether, in the then condition of public sentiment,

he could have been returned from his district. Mr. Blaine's indorsement of him and his subsequent work in the House restored him to the confidence of the people of his district, so that, two years later, he was again returned, and was afterward elected to the United States Senate from Ohio, although he never took his seat, being elected President of the United States before the date of the beginning of his Senatorial term.

General Garfield had many great qualities mingled with many petty ones. He had uncommon intellectual powers, but he was lacking in moral courage. His own conviction of right was never strong enough to sustain him. He never knew how to act without consultation with others in whom he had confidence. Such a temperament naturally caused him much unhappiness, and even in his early public career he was known as a man not quite certain as to his course on many subjects. Before publicly announcing himself upon a question he was only too apt to be influenced by the person last with him. Mr. Charles Foster when in Congress with him was a great resource for General Garfield. Mr. Foster is not at all nervous. He is apparently impervious to criticism. His stolidity was a source of great comfort to General Garfield, who used to come to him in all his embarrassments. General Garfield never made a speech

in the House without asking his friends afterward what they thought of it. He could not live without praise and appreciation. He was fond of flattery. In his manners with his associates he would exhibit an almost girlish fondness. It was not at all unusual to see him walking about the aisle back of the rows of seats in the House of Representatives with an arm twined about a friend.

His fear of public opinion was so great that those near to him said he could never be trusted to hold any fixed line of policy until fully committed. When the Star Route people were being investigated before Congress he promised General Brady, one of the principals involved, to make a speech defending them; but when the time for the speech came General Garfield was not in Washington. The journals of the House, however, will show that at that time he was paired on the side of the Star Route people, a fact which was never made prominent.

His first great mistake was made during the Credit-Mobilier investigation. He lost his head completely at the public outcry, and insisted upon a denial of any ownership in the stock in the face of the most absolute proof. If he had had Mr. Blaine's courage he could have left the committee-room with head as erect as did the Maine statesman. The Credit-

Mobilier incident for a long time took away in a great measure General Garfield's influence in the House. Before this investigation he had been one of the great figures on the floor. He had great skill in debate, and this, combined with his great knowledge of affairs, had made him a formidable adversary. After the investigation, however, he showed so much humiliation and lack of courage that he would have been swept into obscurity if it had not been for his friends.

General Butler, who was sometimes very brutal in debate, saw how broken was his spirit and took advantage of it one day when General Garfield attempted to call him to task for some criticism. Mr. Butler turned around with mock courtesy as he withdrew his remarks, and said, contemptuously: "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*"

General Garfield's face flushed as he sank into his seat without making any attempt to reply. Mr. Foster was very angry, and he at once ran over to Mr. Garfield's seat and said: "Don't, for God's sake, put your tail between your legs and run because a mule has kicked you. I will show you some day that this man Butler is as vulnerable as any one."

It was this episode which led to the attack made later by Mr. Foster on General Butler. Mr. Foster

was then a comparatively new member and but little known, but when he produced proofs of the machinations of General Butler in the celebrated moiety cases it was generally conceded that Butler had met his match, and that he was attacked with the same kind of weapons that he himself made use of. This sharp debate gave Mr. Foster notoriety and influence in the House, and made him a very able ally for the rehabilitation of General Garfield in connection with Mr. Blaine, who continuously kept the power of his influence at his friend's back. General Garfield soon began to regain his power and influence in the debates in the House. The man who reads and studies is the man who makes himself feared in the House, a large proportion of whose members give but little time to the study of public questions. General Garfield's habits of regular study and his fine memory soon gave him a reputation as a scholar which was perhaps greater than he really deserved. He was, however, a thorough student in political economy. His financial speeches and his support of the specie-resumption policy make up one of the brightest and most important chapters in his career. His sympathies as a student led him to look favorably upon free trade, but his interests forced him to fall in with the Protectionists when the tariff issues came to be agitated.

CHAPTER XV.

CONTINUATION OF THE PERIOD OF INVESTIGATION
SCANDALS.—MR. BLAINE CLOSES HIS CAREER AS
SPEAKER.—THE RECIPIENT OF THE APPROVAL OF
HIS FRIENDS AND OPPONENTS.

THE policy of scandal and defamation continued during the Forty-third Congress, which met on the 1st of December, 1873. The policy of the Democrats was to discredit every act of the Republican party. The Republican majority in Congress had passed upon the great questions raised during the war, and settled them in accordance with the best judgment of the people in the North. The regulation of the finances, the granting of pensions, and the reconstruction of the South were continued subjects of bitter attack. The great name and fame of General Grant was no protection to him. Notwithstanding the kindness of spirit which he had shown toward the Southern leaders, when he accepted Lee's surrender, he was always considered by the Southern men as their conqueror, and so one story after another derogatory to his character was circulated at Washington. At the beginning of his second term Gen-

eral Grant himself become very impatient at this continued misrepresentation and slanderous abuse. No man who ever held the office of President had a higher sense of honor or of his obligations to the public. He was a resolute friend, and because he did not instantly cut the acquaintance of every official against whom charges were brought by furious partisans, he was himself made to share the weight of these attacks. General Grant was very staunch and loyal where he had once placed his confidence. He never withdrew this confidence without absolute proofs of lack of merit upon the part of the person trusted. He was conscious of his own rectitude, and consequently did not trouble himself to defend his administration against the charges which were circulated by vindictive Southern enemies, aided by their Northern party associates. General Grant, at the beginning of his second term, refused admission to the White House to nearly all of the correspondents of the daily newspapers. He had been so misrepresented, so criticised, that he became impatient, and trusted only one or two representatives of the press who had been with him during the war. This was an error upon his part, because he could have had the friendly support of all the reputable correspondents, who admired his high qualities. But the criticisms come from so many directions that he came to

adopt a sweeping order against the representatives of the newspaper press. In a message which he wrote at that time General Grant said that he was anxious to be released from public care and was looking forward to the expiration of his term of office, so that he could be released from responsibilities from which he "had scarcely had a respite since the eventful firing upon Fort Sumter in April, 1861, to the present day." He continued, "my services were then tendered and accepted under the first call for troops growing out of the event. I did not ask for place or position, and was entirely without influence or the acquaintance of persons of influence, but was resolved to perform my part in a struggle threatening the very existence of the nation. I performed a conscientious duty without asking for promotion or command, and without a revengeful feeling toward any section or individual. Notwithstanding this, throughout the war, and from my candidacy for my present office, in 1868, to the close of the last Presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equalled in political history, which to-day I feel that I can afford to disregard in view of your verdict, which I gracefully accept as my vindication."

Mr. Blaine, who was elected Speaker of this Congress for the third and last time, did not have the same in-

intimate relations with President Grant that he had had with Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Roseoe Conkling had become the devoted friend and ardent supporter of General Grant, and for this reason it is not natural to suppose that the President could have had at the same time an intimate friendship with Mr. Blaine. Mr. Blaine, however, never opposed General Grant in any way when he was in office. He gave a hearty support to the acts of the administration under Grant, and speaks in the highest terms of this great General in his history, where he says that any criticism or any attempt to belittle the military qualities of General Grant in the face of the record of his long list of successful achievements is "idle chatter."

These scandals complained of by President Grant continued throughout his administration, and culminated, so far as he was concerned, in the breaking up of the whiskey ring in St. Louis, and the attempt upon the part of the Democrats to fasten upon him a guilty knowledge of the ignoble facts of this conspiracy to rob the Government. In St. Louis a ring had been formed among certain corrupt Republican politicians through which they were enabled to bribe certain subordinate revenue officials, and evade the payment of the tax on whiskey in favored distilleries belonging to the ring. As the tax was then ninety cents a gallon, and the output of the ring distilleries

was many hundreds of thousands of gallons, the profits for a time were enormous. Some of the men found guilty in connection with these frauds were former friends of General Grant. One or two of the leaders in the conspiracy were shown to be intimate friends of General Babcock, the Private Secretary of the President. Evidence was brought out showing that Babcock had at least acted imprudently, and he was dismissed from his post. Benjamin H. Bristow, who was Secretary of the Treasury at that time under President Grant, was particularly active in bringing out the facts of this fraud, and was none too prompt in reporting them to the President. The public had the facts very often before Secretary Bristow saw fit to report them to the President. Mr. Bristow was then bitten with Presidential ambitions, and wished to make unusual credit for himself before the public, and his friends more than hinted that he was prosecuting these frauds with great vigor under difficulties thrown constantly in his way by the head of the administration. This resulted in Mr. Bristow's dismissal from the Cabinet during the closing year of General Grant's administration.

More new faces appeared in the Forty-third Congress. Mr. Allison, of Iowa, who had served with the close band of Blaine friends in the House, was promoted to the Senate, where he has since remained.

John J. Ingalls came to the Senate from Kansas for the first time. He was a thoroughly well equipped student with unusual powers of satire and with great fluency in debate. He became afterward one of the most dreaded of the Senators on account of his critical powers and his agility to picture frailties and faults of his opponents. The position that he occupied was that of a critic, and he therefore never had much of a personal following and even his party associates bore with composure the news of his defeat through the influence of the Farmers' Alliance in the Senatorial election of 1891. It was in this Congress that the Farmers' Association in politics made its first appearance through sending to the House members of what was then called the Grange or Patrons of Husbandry.

Senator John P. Jones, a man of great wealth, great individuality, and unusual social acquirements, came from Nevada. He was afterward to become one of the most devoted friends of Mr. Conkling, and to work with him in the Senate as a leader among the stalwart Republicans, who were for a time so actively opposed to the Republicans who regarded Mr. Blaine as their chief.

Among the most prominent of the new Senators on the Democratic side was General John B. Gordon from Georgia. He was a noted cavalry general in

the Confederacy. His appearance indicated his career as a fighter. His face was deeply marked by a savage sabre cut. His manner was kindly, but his temper was high, and in the partisan debates of the day he easily lost control of himself. He became later involved in such a personal quarrel with Senator Conkling that the lie was passed, and for the first time in the history of the Senate a committee of honor was officially authorized to settle the dispute in accordance with the rules of the ancient code.

In the House there were many men who afterward became prominent. Among these were E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, Lyman Tremain, of New York, L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, William R. Morrison, of Illinois, Hugh J. Jewett, of Ohio, Julius C. Burrows, of Michigan, Richard P. Bland, of Missouri, Milton I. Southard, of Ohio, Hiester Clymer, of Pennsylvania, Eppa Hunton, of Virginia, Stephen A. Hurlbut and Joseph G. Cannon, both from Illinois, Thomas C. Platt, of New York, William Walter Phelps, of New Jersey, Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, and Stephen B. Elkins, of New Mexico.

Mr. Lamar who was afterward to become a Senator of the United States, a member of Mr. Cleveland's Cabinet, and a Justice of the Supreme Court, was

one of the most notable and most creditable of the great Southern leaders who came back to Washington after the War of the Rebellion.

He was one of the most striking-looking men in Washington. He was very individual in all of his characteristics. He was tall, round-shouldered, with a round figure.

His brown hair he always wore very long and turned in at the neck. His habit was to allow his hair to fall across his forehead in careless waves, and in moments of deep abstraction clear over his eyes. His eyes were very dark and deep set. His nose was straight. A long flowing mustache and luxuriant chin whiskers swept down nearly to his breast. The sides of his face were smooth shaven. His complexion was very dark. His nature was ardent and his temper high. His intellect was of a superior order. His temperament always inclined him to indolence. Yet, in spite of this tendency, he was capable of great feats of energy and tremendous spurts of application.

He had more influence in the South than possibly any Southern leader of his time. He had never been an extremist. His habits were diplomatic. He believed in victories accomplished by the arts of persuasion rather than by dogmatic force. He was one of the chief advisers of the South in its onward

march at Washington to regain control of the Government.

It was he who was the pioneer in the plan of harmony and reconciliation. This he began in the days of the reconstruction legislation, when party spirit ran high, when every Southern member was called an unrepentent rebel, and when every member from the North could think of no better argument in legislative debates than to taunt the Southern members with the humiliating story of their defeat. When Mr. Lamar first came to Washington he was not prominent, not even in Southern circles.

He was known as a scholarly man, whose participation in the Rebellion had been in the field of diplomacy, rather than in the field of war. He began as a colonel of the Nineteenth Mississippi, but his health did not permit him to remain in the service. He was transferred to the European field, where he sought, with other agents of the Confederate Government, to obtain recognition for the Confederacy.

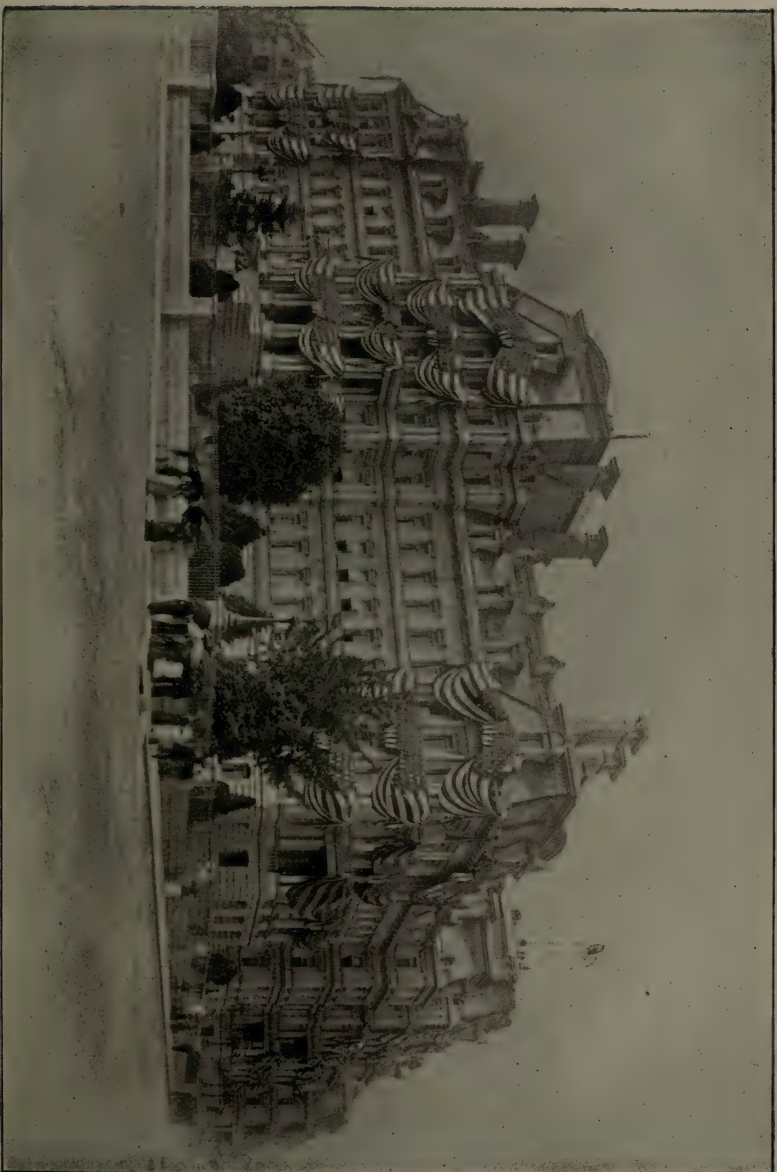
He was the specially accredited agent to Russia. His natural bent in the direction of diplomacy received a sharp accentuation through this European experience. He came home more soft-voiced, more gentle and persuasive in his manners than ever. He was always very fond of books, and was never happier than when a professor in the University of Mis-

issippi. He served there as law professor from 1866 until 1872, when he was elected a member of the House.

Mr. Lamar first made an impression in national affairs by his eulogy on Charles Sumner. Mr. Sumner died on the 11th of March 1874. Mr. Lamar surprised every one by his coming forward with an eloquent tribute to the memory of the dead statesman, and by an eloquent, sympathetic appeal to the North to forget the issues of the war and to unite in harmony with the South for the common good of the country. It was the first word of kindness from the South; the first suggestion of anything in the direction of peace or harmony from that section, and it made a profound sensation throughout the country.

William Walter Phelps, one of the younger members, became a devoted supporter of Mr. Blaine, and was associated with him in a number of business enterprises. Mr. Blaine afterward sent him to Vienna during the Garfield administration, and then to Berlin under the Harrison administration. Stephen B. Elkins became an ardent supporter of Mr. Blaine, and in the campaign of 1884 was the leader of his forces at Chicago and later the chief manager of Mr. Blaine's campaign.

The scandal-mongers found lively occupation all through this Congress in attacking the methods of



DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

(Blaine's last official headquarters.)

expenditure of every dollar laid out for the improvement of the National Capital. The previous Congress had authorized the formation of a new government for the District, and Alexander R. Shepherd, a former plumber, had been made the Governor of the town. Mr. Shepherd was a man of great force of character, an iron will, and the firm resolution of a leader. Washington, when he took hold of it, was unpaved, undrained, shabby, and wholly unworthy of the nation. It had always been dominated by the spirit of the South. Its residents were then excessively provincial, and opposed to the march of improvement. They apparently preferred that the capital should remain an aggregation of splendor in its public buildings, squalor and shabbiness in its private buildings, with muddy or dusty streets, according to the season, rather than to submit to the daring innovations proposed by the new Governor. He made the capital over into a city, and left it, at the close of his administration, the one city in the United States with clean streets, with good pavements, and results fully justifying the enormous expenditures made. He retired himself bankrupt at the end of his career as Governor, and was driven from the town by the persistency of the scandal-mongers, who insisted almost to the day of his failure that he made millions out of the contracts and that

his retirement afterward was only for the purpose of getting away safely with his ill-gotten gains. Some of the reformers of that day employed burglars to break open a safe in the District-Attorney's office for the purpose of capturing evidence against Governor Shepherd. It was the same type of reformers that had employed a burglar to capture the documents in the original Credit-Mobilier exposure. This safe burglary conspiracy was investigated in the following Forty-fourth Congress, in connection with the many topics taken up by the Democrats when they regained control of the House of Representatives.

The Forty-third Congress, through its Republican majority, appropriated great sums for the improvement of the capital. It is probable that the contractors made money and in some instances frauds were practiced upon the District administration, but in the main the expenditures were made wisely, and the changes secured at the Capital have transformed a pretty provincial village into a handsome modern city.

The Southern issues were for a time overshadowed by the financial depression which reigned throughout the country after the panic of September, 1873. The Forty-third Congress had before it many financial questions to consider. The inflationists and the

cheap-money men were now violent in their denunciations of the financial policy of the Republican majority. They were supported by the people who were ruined by the panic of 1873. Mr. Bland in this Congress came forward with his plan to make cheap silver dollars, and inflate the currency by free coinage of silver and the issuing of silver certificates based upon this free coinage. Various propositions were offered in the Senate and in the House to increase the greenback issues, and to augment the issues of the national bank notes.

Mr. Blaine supported with his personal influence the previous policy of the Republican majority. Nothing positive was accomplished during the first session. The Congressional election following the close of the long session resulted in an overwhelming majority for the Democrats. During the short session which followed the Congressional election, the Republican majority, which was soon to pass from power in the House, took steps to provide for specie resumption, and to put the nation's finances upon as sound a basis as possible before turning over the control to the opposition. This act was passed by a vote of one hundred and twenty-five ayes to one hundred and six noes, upon the 7th of January, 1875. Every Democratic vote in the House was against the measure. The closeness of the vote was occasioned by a

number of Republicans voting with the Democrats, not because they believed in opposing resumption, but because they thought that the country was not yet prosperous enough to maintain specie payments at the date fixed by the act. The act for the resumption of specie payments provided that on and after January 1st, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury should redeem United States legal tender notes in coin, but it left open the question whether these legal tender notes up to three hundred millions should be re-issued after redemption.

The supplementary Civil Rights Bill of Senator Sumner was also passed during this session. There were debates also upon the methods of electing the President and the Vice-President, in which the dangers which arose in 1876 were foreshadowed by Senator Morton, but no affirmative action was taken.

The Democrats were now carrying everything before them. They had gained the next House of Representatives, and had further gained the control of all their State Governments in the South with the exception of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. The Republican managers fought against the Democratic policy of intimidation, and in several instances had made appeals to General Grant for troops to suppress disorder and riots. In Arkansas Elisha Baxter and Joseph Brooks had a

dispute as to which one was elected Governor. This dispute was settled by both withdrawing, and then Mr. V. V. Smith, who claimed to be Lieutenant Governor under Baxter, set up as Governor. He called for troops, but before a reply could be given to him he was driven out of the State by a Democratic mob. In Mississippi the Legislature called on the President for troops to suppress rioting. This call for troops was repeated by Governor Ames, a Republican, the son-in-law of General B. F. Butler. The call was refused, and President Grant directed him to use his own forces to maintain peace in the State.

Mr. Blaine now closed a six years' term period as presiding officer in the House of Representatives. He had been elected for each of his three terms without opposition, and at the expiration of each term of service the House had passed a resolution of thanks and approval for these services. These resolutions were invariably proposed by a Democrat. Mr. Blaine always spent more hours in the chair than had been the custom. He was very rarely absent from his post. His strength and iron frame enabled him to undergo the longest sessions of the House without apparent fatigue. No one could count a rising vote as quickly as he. It was one of the sights of the time for a visitor to watch Mr. Blaine when he stood erect facing a standing House, for the pur-

pose of counting the ayes and noes. With the head of the gavel clutched in his right hand, he moved its handle with almost lightning-like rapidity as he turned from the right to the left. His announcements were made with such a brief interval for counting that they were often disputed, but the count of the tellers always verified his declaration. He was always courteous, quick, and fair. He never lost his head, and in the face of the most furious scenes of disorder, when parliamentary points were being made on every side, he was serene, composed, and master of the situation. His clear voice would ring out above the din, while his furious manipulation of the gavel in time destroyed the covering of the desk, which was regularly renewed at the close of each session. One of his greatest feats of endurance was during the eventful scenes which occurred when the Republican majority tried to pass what was then called the Force Bill. This was a measure which was to give President Grant the right to use the military and suspend the writ of habeas corpus in the suppression of violence and outrage in the South without first referring the question to the State authorities. This bill, which was passed in the Senate, came over to the House, and Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, who afterward became Speaker, led the minority opposition to it. It was toward the

closing days of the last session, there was a clear majority for the measure in the House. Mr. Randall opposed the bill with what is known as dilatory tactics. He would first make a motion to adjourn, and then he would make a motion to take a recess. Upon each of these motions he would have a roll-call of the House. Each roll-call occupied a half an hour of time. When the motion to adjourn failed, then the motion to take a recess under the rules was always in order. When this failed, one motion having been made, then another motion to adjourn was in order. This see-saw was kept up for a continuous session of forty-six hours. The fight began when Mr. Blaine was absent during an evening session. He was at a dinner-party, and he came to the chair in evening dress. He remained continuously in the chair for twenty and one-half hours without rest or sleep. Refreshments were brought to him. It was a period of the angriest passion. The stalwart element of the Republican party insisted upon this measure and the Southern element resisted it as they resisted the Government in 1860. The galleries were thronged, while on the floor there was a continued series of personal quarrels and violent attacks. At the close of the first night's session the interior of the chamber look as if it had been occupied by rioters. The carpet was completely

covered with torn papers and fallen books. Mr. Blaine's iron constitution and vigorous frame supported him, so that at the close of the twenty hours' strain, and the succeeding hours of struggle, while he was weary, he was by no means broken down. His voice gave out during the last hour or two, but a few hours' rest gave him back all his lost vitality and energy. Many of the Republicans then insisted that Mr. Blaine should refuse to recognize Mr. Randall in his making of the dilatory motions and to recognize only those who were in charge of the Bill, so that it could be put upon its passage. Mr. Blaine said that the rules of the House provided for the making of the motions exactly as they were submitted by Mr. Randall, and that until the rules were changed he could do nothing but recognize him. This attitude of Mr. Blaine's was construed as antagonistic to the Grant administration. It was said that Mr. Blaine was beginning to yield to the Southern sentiment of the capital and that he had a Presidential ambition which he hoped to gratify by opposing the Force Bill measure. None of these criticisms appear to be warranted by the facts. If Mr. Blaine had been out and out for the measure he could not have ruled differently than he did without assuming an authority of an arbitrary character which did not belong to his office.

His course in reality was approved by his party associates, because they voted with the Democrats in favor of the resolution of thanks and commendation, which was offered by Mr. Clarkson Potter at the final adjournment at noon on the 4th of March, 1875. Mr. Blaine, in response to this resolution, said :

“I close with this hour a six years’ service as Speaker of the House of Representatives—a period surpassed in length by but two of my predecessors, and equalled by only two others. The rapid mutations of personal and political fortunes in this country have limited the great majority of those who have occupied this chair to shorter terms of office.

“It would be the gravest insensibility to the honors and responsibilities of life not to be deeply touched by so signal a mark of public esteem as that which I have thrice received at the hands of my political associates. I desire in this last moment to renew to them, one and all, my thanks and my gratitude.

“To those from whom I differ in my party relations—the minority of this House—I tender my acknowledgments for the generous courtesy with which they have treated me. By one of those sudden and decisive changes which distinguish popular institutions, and which conspicuously mark a free people, that minority is transformed in the ensuing Congress

to the governing power of the House. However it might possibly have been under other circumstances, that event renders these words my farewell to the Chair.

“The Speakership of the American House of Representatives is a post of honor, of dignity, of power, of responsibility. Its duties are at once complex and continuous; they are both onerous and delicate; they are performed in the broad light of day, under the eye of the whole people, subject at all times to the closest observation, and always attended with the sharpest criticism. I think no other official is held to such instant and such rigid accountability. Parliamentary rulings in their very nature are peremptory; almost absolute in authority and instantaneous in effect. They cannot always be enforced in such a way as to win applause or secure popularity; but I am sure that no man of any party who is worthy to fill this Chair will ever see a dividing line between duty and policy.

“Thanking you once more, and thanking you cordially, for the honorable testimonial you have placed on record to my credit, I perform my only remaining duty in declaring that the Forty-third Congress has reached its constitutional limit, and that the House of Representatives stands adjourned without day.”

A remarkable scene followed the delivery of this farewell address. The galleries were packed, and the House was filled with members and officials who had the right to the floor. Mr. Blaine was then in perfect health, and had closed his six years of office quite free of any scandal during a period when every one high in office was the subject of assault. In the discharge of his duties he had performed the apparently impossible task of satisfying his enemies, and when he left the chair he was cheered and applauded by both sides, while the members on the floor rushed to him to shake him by the hand and to add their personal congratulations to the official indorsement of the House. He was then the most conspicuous man in his party, alert, active-minded, and naturally spoken of in the leading journals of the country in connection with the National Republican Convention which was to meet the following year.

CHAPTER XVI.

BEGINNING OF DEMOCRATIC RULE IN THE HOUSE.—

RANSACKING THE COUNTRY FOR MATERIAL TO DISCREDIT REPUBLICAN LEADERS.—MR. BLAINE'S ANDERSONVILLE SPEECH AND WHY IT WAS MADE.

THERE is nothing in Mr. Blaine's record to indicate that he has at any time sympathized with the Southern spirit which has sought to control the Government by any means within its power. He opposed the slavery element, from the beginning of his political career, and at every step in his political life in Congress he was the unswerving opponent of the South in its unlawful demands. His position in the chair gave rise during the year which followed the adjournment of the Forty-ninth Congress to the story that he favored great moderation in the future, and that he could not be classed as a stalwart Republican. Mr. Blaine was always opposed to violent means, and he believed at this time that it was not possible to enforce the laws in any community against the overwhelming public sentiment of that community. He came to the conclusion that it was wisest and best to leave the South free to manage its State

affairs, but he never changed his mind concerning the injustice of permitting the South to have the undue representation it now has in the Electoral College and in the National House of Representatives, based as it is upon the colored population, which is unrepresented except by white Southern votes.

The opposition to Mr. Blaine in Republican circles came almost entirely from the stalwart Republicans led by Mr. Conkling. It is possible that Mr. Blaine may have been influenced by the various public criticisms published at that time concerning his attitude as a Republican, but he remained, in spite of the opposition of certain Republican leaders, the chief of the party in Congress, and was the leader of the minority in the House of Representatives which met December 6th, 1875.

A Democratic Speaker now for the first time since the war presided over the House. The Forty-fourth Congress was not wholly Democratic, the Senate was still in Republican hands. The House was notable for the many investigations ordered by it. Over one hundred official investigations were ordered. Every charge which had been made against Republican officials since the war were brought to the attention of the Democratic House. Every scandal-monger, every one who had anything to tell which would reflect on the honor or character of any Re-

publican official, however humble, was made welcome at the Democratic House. Drag nets were thrown out in every direction. The committees met at first in secret. This was for the alleged reason of fairness, so that charges should not be published against officials, until the members of the committee were satisfied that there was sufficient evidence to warrant their being given to the public.

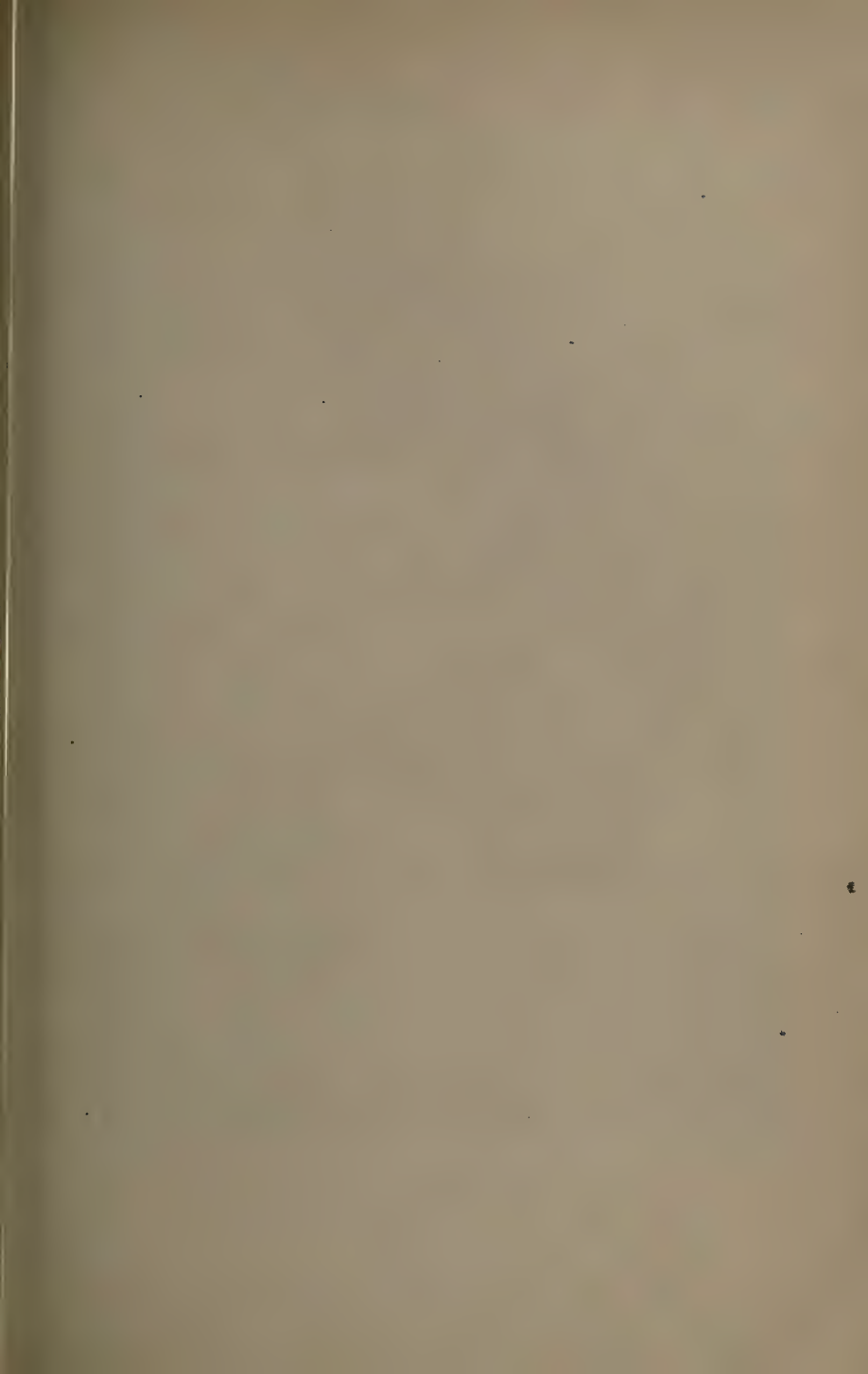
Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, the Speaker of the House, was a fair-minded and honorable man. He was, however, an invalid, in the last stages of consumption, and could give but little attention to the duties of his office. This office was dominated entirely by Southern influences, and it was Southern men who led in proposing resolutions of inquiry and who were most active in prosecuting investigations. The Star chamber investigations of the various committees went over every one of the old scandals of the period following the war. Whenever any evidence was taken in their secret sessions, it straightway found its road to some opposition newspapers. The sessions were secret only in name. In this way officials were done great injustice. They were given no opportunity for defense and their explanations or their testimony, when given to the public after the original publications had but little effect. The attention of these investi-

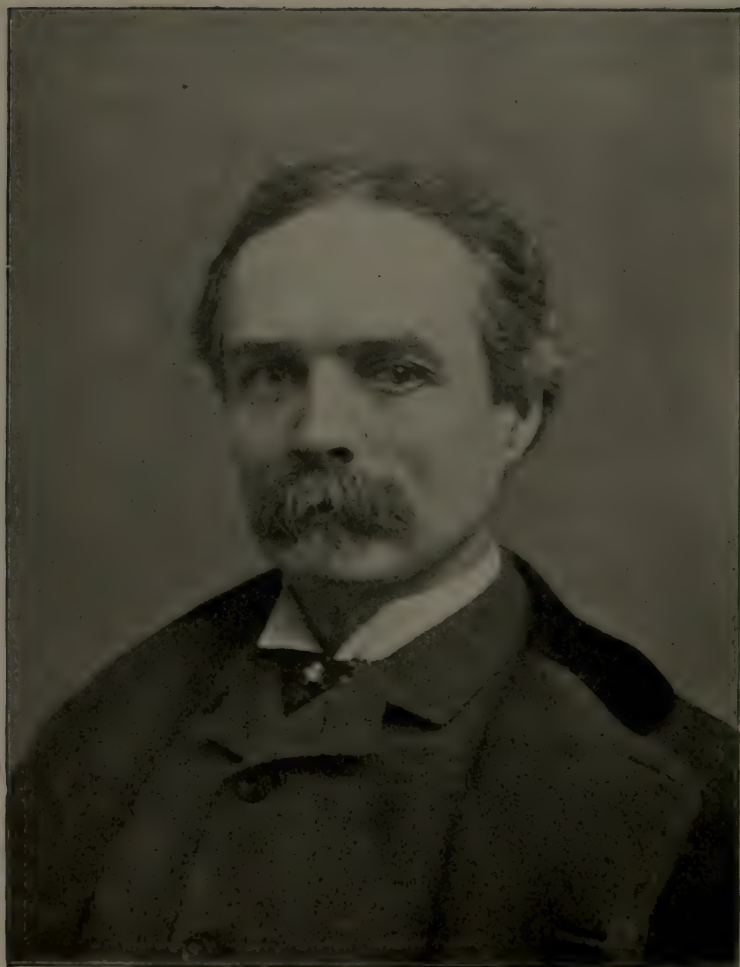
gating committees was first directed against President Grant. Nothing can better illustrate the character of the stories taken up than the history of one particular investigation of the President. A certain Washington grocer made his appearance before the House Judiciary Committee and offered an affidavit charging that General Grant had seduced his sister, and that the President had compromised the case with him, and later had had him exiled from the country through paid agents, who had carried him off on a ship to England, and who had kept him for two years in confinement in that country. This story upon its face was the concoction of an insane man. Yet this committee took up the charge gravely, and allowed the scandalous story to be published before they had taken the trouble to examine into the character or standing of the man making so infamous a charge against the President of the United States. The committee, after allowing the story to be published, began examining the witness for further proof of the damnable charges. They asked the witness when President Grant first came to see his sister. He named a certain date. He was asked at what hour he made this first visit. He said that he came at two o'clock in the morning. This reply astonished the cross-examiner, but he still went on and asked how he came. He said that he came through the window of

one of the upper floors of his house. Here was an entrancing picture of scandal for the distinguished ex-Confederate officer who was conducting this investigation. He asked how he got in through the window, in order to have no detail lacking in the narration of this remarkable story. The witness replied that General Grant came floating in on a cloud, and then his insane ravings were such as to discourage further questioning. Yet that story concerning General Grant was never denied by the committee, its publication reappeared from time to time with the silent indorsement of the Democratic members of that committee, and it was only toward the close of Grant's administration that the witness was removed to the Government insane asylum, where a few of the Southern newspapers of that time insisted that he had been sent by the tyrant Grant to close his mouth against any further scandal to the then President.

It is essential to a just estimate of the character of this investigation persecution to go over its work, for it was soon to be turned upon Mr. Blaine on account of his prominence and his activity as a leader of the minority in opposing Southern domination.

In these investigations the laws governing the taking of evidence in the courts were never observed.





HON. WHITELOW REID.

The idlest of hearsay was accepted and instantly promulgated.

The public was at first credulous, and accepted the various stories as they were sent out, but soon the malicious and wholly partisan character of these investigations became apparent, and after fomenting to the uttermost possibility this flood of scandal the period came to an end, and investigations were no longer popular. In later years the House, even when Democratic, has found but little profit in these drag-net searches after material to blacken political opponents.

The most important result of all these investigations was the development of the post-trader scandal, where the sale of one appointment was traced directly to the family of Mr. Belknap, the then Secretary of War. He took upon his broad shoulders the guilt of the whole affair. He was able to show to President Grant his complete innocence, although the evidence he submitted could not be shown to Congress without hopelessly ruining his family. President Grant accepted his resignation before the impeachment charges were fairly brought, and so Mr. Belknap escaped the verdict of impeachment which would otherwise have been found.

This one exposure appeared for a time to justify all the rest. It was about this time that Mr. Blaine

resolved to create a diversion. He succeeded, and brought down upon his head the united wrath of the solid South.

This he did in his celebrated speech in the House upon the consideration of the bill for general amnesty for the few ex-Confederate officers who had not yet been restored to their political rights. Opinions differ as to the motives for that speech. Some regard it as the act of a politician seeking simply to produce a counter effect, and to attract further attention to himself as a Presidential candidate; while others, his admirers, regard the speech as the act of a statesman who wished to call the attention of the country to the character of the men, who, fresh from the field of rebellion, were seeking in a high-handed way to grasp first, power in their section, and then to control the national administration.

This speech was made with all the vigor and energy of Mr. Blaine's character. It came with the force of a stinging blow in the faces of the Southern leaders. It was almost brutal in its truth. It was made in a full House, before galleries packed with a curious and excitable crowd. Up to this time, under the influence of the soothing eulogy of Mr. Lamar upon Charles Sumner, there had been a great deal of talk about harmony. "The grasp of fraternal hands across the bloody chasm" was one of the

phrases of the day. Mr. Blaine's speech called attention to the fact that the harmony was all on one side, and made clear that the Southern Democrats were only agreeable and disposed to be fraternal when they had everything their own way.

The response from the North to this speech was so swift and emphatic that the Southern people put their best men forward to reply. Ben. Hill, a great advocate, one of the first lawyers of the South, made the plea in response. His reply to the charges of cruelty at Andersonville, and Mr. Davis' responsibility, was to beg the question by charging that Confederate prisoners had had similar treatment in the hands of the North.

General Garfield supported Mr. Blaine in this debate, and the propositions to extend amnesty to Jefferson Davis failed in that session.

Mr. Blaine's speech was one of the most forcible ever delivered by him in Congress, and, as the after-results were to him so important, it is well to look over the summary revised and preserved by Mr. Blaine himself. To read it one can then understand the point of fury and rage to which the Southern leaders were driven, and how, when they had an opportunity afterward to retaliate upon Mr. Blaine personally, they become so relentless in their attempts to destroy him.

Mr. Blaine said :

“Mr. Speaker—I rise to a privileged question. I move to reconsider the vote which has just been declared. I propose to debate the question at issue, and now give notice that if the motion to reconsider shall be agreed to, it is my intention to offer the amendment which has been read several times. I will not delay the House to ask that it be read again.

“Every time the question of amnesty has been introduced, during the last two Congresses, by a Democratic member, it has been done with a certain flourish of magnanimity which seemed to convey an imputation on this side of the House. It seemed to charge the Republican party, which has been in control of the Government for the last fifteen years, with being bigoted, narrow, and illiberal, grinding down certain gentlemen in the Southern States under a great tyranny, from which the hard-heartedness of this side of the House constantly refuses to relieve them.

“If I may anticipate as much wisdom as ought to characterize the gentlemen on the other side of the House, this may be the last time that amnesty need be brought to the attention of Congress. I desire, therefore, to place on record precisely what the Republican party has done in this matter. I wish to place it there as an imperishable record of liberality

an magnanimity and mercy far beyond that which has ever before been shown in the world's history by conqueror to conquered.

“I entered Congress at the same time with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Randall], while the hot flame of war was yet raging, when the Union was rocking to its foundations, and when no man knew whether we were to have a country or not. I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania would have been surprised when he and I were novices in the Thirty-eighth Congress, if he had been told that before our joint service ended we should see sixty-one gentlemen, who were then in arms against us, admitted to the privileges of membership in this body, and all by the grace and magnanimity of the Republican party. When the war ended, according to the universal usage of nations, the Government, then under the exclusive control of the Republican party, had the right to determine what should be the political status of the people who had suffered defeat. Did the Republicans, with full power in their hands, inaugurate any measure of persecution? Did they set forth on a career of bloodshed and vengeance? Did they take the property of the Southern people who had rebelled? Did they deprive any man of his civil rights?

“Not at all. Instead of a general and sweeping

condemnation, the Republican party placed in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution only this exclusion :

“That no person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.’

“It has been variously estimated that this section at the time of its original insertion in the Constitution included from fourteen to thirty thousand persons. As nearly as I can gather the facts of the case, it included about eighteen thousand men in the South. It did not apply to the hundreds of thousands—or millions, if you please—who had been engaged in the attempt to destroy this Government. It held under disability only those who, in joining the Rebellion, had violated a special and peculiar and personal oath to support the Constitution of the United States. It was limited to these.

“That disability, Mr. Speaker, was hardly placed upon the South before we began in this hall and in

the other wing of the Capitol, when more than two-thirds of the members in each branch were Republicans, to remit it, and the very first bill removed this disability from 1,578 citizens of the South. The next bill removed it from 3,526 others. Amnesty was thus granted by wholesale. Many of the gentlemen on this floor shared the grace conferred on those occasions. After these bills had passed, with several smaller bills specifying individuals, the Congress of the United States in 1872, still being two-thirds Republican in both branches, passed this general law :

“That all political disabilities, imposed by the third section of the fourteenth article of Amendments of the Constitution of the United States, are hereby removed from all persons whomsoever, except Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judicial, military, and naval service of the United States, heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States.’

“Since that measure passed, a very considerable number of the gentlemen whom it still left under disability have been relieved specially, by name, in separate acts. But I believe, Mr. Speaker, in no instance since the Act of May 22d, 1872, have the disabilities been removed, except upon respectful petition to the Congress of the United States from the person interested. I believe in no instance, except

one, have they been refused upon the petition being presented. I believe in no instance, except one, has there been any other than a unanimous vote for removing the disability.

“I find there are widely-varying opinions in regard to the number that are still under disabilities in the South. By conference with the Department of War and of the Navy, and with the assistance of some records which I have caused to be searched, I am able to state to the House, I believe with substantial accuracy, the number of gentlemen in the South still under disabilities. Those who were officers of the United States Army, educated at its own expense at West Point, and who joined the Rebellion, and are still included under this act, number, as nearly as the War Department can state it, 325; those in the Navy about 295. Those under the other heads—Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judicial service of the United States, heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States—make up a number somewhat more difficult to state accurately, but estimated at 125 to 130. The entire list, therefore, is about 750 persons now under disabilities out of the great unnumbered host that engaged in the Rebellion.

“I am very frank to say that in regard to all these

gentlemen, save one, I do not know any reason why amnesty should not be granted, as it has been to many others of the same class. I am not here to argue against it. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Kasson] suggests 'on their application.' I agree with him on that point. But in the absence of the respectful form of application, which since May 22d, 1872, has become a sort of common law as preliminary to amnesty, I simply wish to make it a condition that they shall go before a United States court, and, with uplifted hand, swear that they will conduct themselves as good and loyal citizens of the United States. That is all.

"Gentlemen may say that this is a foolish exaction. Possibly it is. But I confess I have a prejudice in favor of it. I insist upon it, because I do not want to impose citizenship on any gentleman. If I am correctly informed, and I state it on apparently good authority, there are some gentlemen in this list who have spoken contemptuously of resuming citizenship, and have spoken still more contemptuously of applying for citizenship. I may state it erroneously, and if I do I am ready to be corrected; but I understand that Mr. Robert Toombs has, on several occasions, at watering-places, both in this country and in Europe, openly and publicly stated that he would not ask the United States for citizenship.

“I insist, therefore, that if Mr. Robert Toombs is not prepared to go into a court of the United States, and swear that he honestly intends to be a good and loyal citizen, he may live and die outside of that great privilege. I do not think that the two Houses of Congress should convert themselves into a joint convention for the purpose of embracing Mr. Robert Toombs, and requesting him to favor us by coming back and accepting the honors of citizenship. All we ask on this side of the House is that each of these gentlemen shall show his good faith by coming forward and taking the oath, which all the members on this floor take, and are proud to take. It is a very small exaction to make as a preliminary to full restoration to all the rights of citizenship.

“In my amendment, Mr. Speaker, I have excepted Jefferson Davis from amnesty. I do not place his exclusion on the ground that he was, as he has been commonly called, the head and front of the Rebellion, because I do not think the exception would be tenable. Mr. Davis was in that respect as guilty, no more so, no less so, than thousands of others who have received the benefit and grace of amnesty. Probably he was less efficient as an enemy of the United States, probably he was more useful as a disturber of the councils of the Confederacy, than many who have already received amnesty. It is not because of any

particular and special damage that he above others did to the Union, or because he was personally or especially of consequence, that I except him. But I except him on this ground : that he was the responsible author, knowingly, deliberately, guiltily, of the great crime of Andersonville.

“I base his exclusion on that ground ; and I believe to-day, that so rapidly does one event follow on the heels of another in the age in which we live, that even those of us who were contemporaneous with the war, and especially those who have grown up since, fail to remember the crime at Andersonville.

“Since the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Randall] introduced this bill last month, I have taken occasion to re-read some of the historic cruelties of the world. I have read once more the details of those atrocious murders by the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries, which are always mentioned with a thrill of horror throughout Christendom. I have refreshed my memory with the details of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, that stands out in history as another of those atrocities beyond imagination. I have read anew the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. But neither the deeds of the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries, nor the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, nor the thumb-screws of the Spanish Inquisition surpass the hideous crime of

Andersonville. This is not matter of mere passion but of proof. Thank God, Mr. Speaker, that while this Congress was under different control from that which exists here to-day, with a Committee composed of both sides and of both branches, that tale of horror was placed where it cannot be denied, and where it must remain as a warning.

"I hold in my hand the story written out by a committee of Congress. I state that Winder, who is dead, was sent to Andersonville with a full knowledge of his previous atrocities in Richmond. These were so terrible that Confederate papers, the *Richmond Examiner* for one, after Winder had gone thanked God that Richmond was rid of his presence. We in the North knew from returning skeletons what Winder had accomplished at Belle Isle and Libby; and, fresh from those accursed cruelties to his fellow-men, he was sent by Mr. Jefferson Davis, against the protests of others in the Confederacy, to construct this den of horrors at Andersonville.

"It would be utterly beyond the scope of the occasion, and beyond the limits of my hour, to go into full details. But in arraigning Mr. Davis, I will not ask any one to take the testimony of a Union soldier. I ask gentlemen of this House to take only the testimony of men who themselves were engaged in and devoted to the Confederate cause. If that

testimony does not entirely justify the declaration I have made, then I will take prompt occasion to state that I have been in error in my reading.

“After detailing the preparation of that prison, the arrangements made with studied cruelty for the victims, the report which I hold in my hand, and which was concurred in by Democratic members as well as Republican members of Congress, gives a condensed description of the horrors—and I beg members to hear it, for it is far more impressive than anything I can say. After giving full details, the report states :—

“‘The subsequent history of Andersonville has startled and shocked the world with a tale of horror, of woe, and death before unheard and unknown to civilization. No pen can describe, no painter sketch, no imagination comprehend its fearful and unutterable iniquity. It would seem as if the concentrated madness of earth and hell had found its final lodgment in the breast of those who inaugurated the Rebellion and controlled the policy of the Confederate government, and that the prison at Andersonville had been selected for the most terrible human sacrifice which the world has ever seen. Into its narrow walls were crowded thirty-five thousand enlisted men, many of them the bravest and best, the most devoted and heroic of those grand armies which carried the flag of their country to final victory. For long and weary months here they suffered, maddened, were murdered, and died. Here they lingered, unsheltered from the burning rays of a tropical sun by day, and drenching and deadly dews by night, in every stage of mental and physical disease, hun-

gered, emaciated, starving, maddened ; festering with unhealed wounds ; gnawed by the ravages of scurvy and gangrene ; with swollen limb and distorted visage ; covered with vermin which they had no power to extirpate ; exposed to the flooding rains which drove them drowning from the miserable holes in which, like swine, they burrowed ; parched with thirst, and mad with hunger ; racked with pain, or prostrated with the weakness of dissolution ; with naked limbs and matted hair ; filthy with smoke and mud ; soiled with the very excrement from which their weakness would not permit them to escape ; eaten by the gnawing worms which their own wounds had engendered ; with no bed but the earth ; no covering save the cloud or the sky ; these men, these heroes, born in the image of God, thus crouching and writhing in their terrible torture and calculating barbarity, stand forth in history as a monument of the surpassing horrors of Andersonville, as it shall be seen and read in all future time, realizing in the studied torments of their prison-house the ideal of Dante's "Inferno" and Milton's "Hell."'

"I venture the assertion, from reading the testimony upon which the report is based, that this description is not overdrawn. I will read but a single paragraph from the testimony of Rev. William John Hamilton, a Catholic priest at Macon, who, I believe, never was in the North. He is a Southern man, and a Democrat, and a Catholic priest. And when you unite those three qualities in one man, you will not find much testimony that would be strained in favor of the Republican party, or any member of it.

“This man had gone to Andersonville on a mission of mercy to the men of his own faith, to administer to them the rites of his Church in their last moments. That is the way in which he happened to be a witness. I will read his answer under oath to a question addressed to him in regard to the bodily condition of the prisoners. He said :

“ ‘Well, as I said before, when I went there I was kept so busily engaged in giving the sacrament to the dying men that I could not observe much, but, of course, I could not keep my eyes closed as to what I saw there. I saw a great many men perfectly naked [their clothes had been taken from them by rebels, as other testimony shows], walking about the stockade perfectly nude. They seemed to have lost all regard for delicacy, shame, morality, or anything else. I would frequently have to creep on my hands and knees into the holes that the men had burrowed in the ground, and stretch myself out alongside of them to hear their confessions. I found them almost living in vermin in those holes; they could not be in any other condition but a filthy one, because they got no soap, and no change of clothing, and were there all huddled up together.’

“Let me read further, from the same witness, a personal description :

“ ‘The first person I conversed with on entering the stockade was a countryman of mine, a member of the Catholic Church, who recognized me as a clergyman. I think his name was Farrell. He was from the North of Ireland. He came toward me and introduced himself. He was quite a boy. I do not think, judging from his appearance, that he could have

been more than sixteen years old. I found him without a hat, and without any covering on his feet, and without jacket or coat. He told me that his shoes had been taken from him on the battle-field. I found the boy suffering very much from a wound on his right foot ; in fact, the foot was split open like an oyster, and, on inquiring the cause, they told me it was from exposure to the sun in the stockade, and not from any wound received in battle. I took off my boots and gave him a pair of socks to cover his feet, and told him I would bring him some clothing, as I expected to return to Andersonville the following week. I had to return to Macon to get another priest to take my place on Sunday. When I returned, on the following week, on inquiring for this man Farrell, his companions told me he had stepped across the dead-line, and requested the guards to shoot him. He was not insane at the time I was conversing with him.'

" Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to go into such horrible details as these for any purpose of arousing bad feeling. I wish only to say that the man who administered the affairs of that prison went there by order of Mr. Davis, was sustained by him, and the Rev. William John Hamilton, from whose testimony I have read, states again that he went to General Howell Cobb, commanding that department, and asked that intelligence as to the condition of affairs there be transmitted to the Confederate Government at Richmond. There are many proofs to show that Mr. Davis was thoroughly informed as to the condition of affairs at Andersonville.

" One word more, and I shall lay aside this book.



HON. ROBERT T. LINCOLN.
(Minister to England.)

When the march of General Sherman in the Atlanta campaign was in progress, there was danger, or supposed danger, that his army might come into the neighborhood of Andersonville; and the following order, to which I invite the attention of the House—a regular military order—Order No. 13, dated, Headquarters Confederate States Military Prison, Andersonville, July 27th, 1864, was issued by Brigadier-General John H. Winder:

“The officers on duty and in charge of the battery of Florida artillery at the time will, upon receiving notice that the enemy have approached within seven miles of this post, open fire upon the stockade with grape-shot, without reference to the situation beyond these lines of defense.’

“Here, within this horrible stockade, were thirty-five thousand poor, helpless, naked, starving, sickened, dying men! The Catholic priest to whom I have referred states that he begged General Howell Cobb to represent that, if these men could not be exchanged, or could not be relieved in any other way, they should be taken to the Union lines in Florida and paroled; for they were shadows, they were skeletons. Yet it was declared in a regular order, issued by the commandant of the prison, who had been specially selected by Mr. Davis, that if the Union forces should come within seven miles the battery of

Florida artillery should open fire with grape-shot on these shadows and skeletons without the slightest possible regard to what was going on outside. And they had stakes put up with flags in order that the line of fire might be properly directed from the battery of Florida artillery.

“I mention only one additional horror in this dark valley of cruelty and death. When one of the tortured victims escaped from its confines—as was sometimes, though not often, the case—he was remorselessly hunted down by bloodhounds. In a single month twenty-five escaped, but in the official record kept by the notorious Wirz ‘they were taken by the dogs before the daily returns were made out.’

“Mr. Speaker, the administration of Martin Van Buren, that went down in a popular convulsion in 1840, had no little of obloquy thrown upon it because it was believed that the Seminoles in the swamps of Florida had been hunted with bloodhounds.

“Bloodthirsty dogs were sent after the hiding savages, and the civilization and Christian feeling of the American people revolted against cruelty. I state here, upon the testimony of witnesses as numerous as would require me all day to read, that bloodhounds were used at Andersonville; that large packs of them were kept, and Confederate officers directed them on

the hunt ; that they were sent after the poor unfortunate, shrinking men who by an accident could get out of that horrible stockade.

“ I do not wish to be understood as arraigning the Southern people for these inhumanities. God forbid that I should charge sympathy with such wrongs upon the mass of any people. There were many evidences of great uneasiness in the South about the condition of Andersonville. I know that leading officers of the Confederacy protested against it. I know that many of the subordinate officers protested against it. I know that a distinguished gentleman from North Carolina, now representing his State in the other end of the Capitol, protested against it. But I regret to say that these wrongs were known to the Confederate Congress, they were known at the doorway of their Senate, along the corridors of their Capitol. A gentleman whom I see at this moment, who served in the Confederate Congress, and who had before served in the Senate of the United States, brought them to the attention of the Confederate Congress, and I class him with those whose humanity was never burned out by the angry fires of the rebellion. I allude to the Honorable and now venerable Henry Stuart Foote.

“ It is one of the rank offenses of Jefferson Davis, Mr. Speaker, that besides conniving at the cruelties

at Andersonville, he concealed them from the Southern people. He labored not only to conceal them, but to make false statements about them. We have obtained, and have now in the Congressional Library, a complete series of Mr. Davis's messages—the official imprint from Richmond. I have looked over them, and I have an extract here from his message of November 7th, 1864, at the very time when these horrors were at their height and their worst. Mr. Davis said :—

“ ‘ The solicitude of the Government for the relief of our captive fellow-citizens has known no abatement, but has on the contrary been still more deeply evoked by the additional sufferings to which they have been wantonly subjected by deprivation of adequate food, clothing, and fuel, which they were not even permitted to purchase from the prison sutler.’ ”

“ And he adds that the—

“ ‘ Enemy attempted to excuse their barbarous treatment by the unfounded allegation that it was retaliatory for like conduct on our part.’ ”

“ In answer to this atrocious slander by the Confederate President, now become historic, I am justified in declaring that there is not a Confederate soldier living who has any credit as a man in his community, and who was a prisoner in the hands of the Union forces, who will say that he was ever

cruelly treated; that he ever was deprived of just such rations as the Union soldiers had—the same food and the same clothing.”

Mr. Cook, of Georgia—“Thousands of them say it—thousands of them; men of as high character as any in this House.”

Mr. Blaine—“I take issue upon that. There is not one who can substantiate it—not one. As for the measures of retaliation, although goaded by this terrific treatment of our friends imprisoned by Mr. Davis, the Senate of the United States specifically refused to pass a resolution of retaliation, as contrary to modern civilization and to the first precepts of Christianity. No retaliation was attempted or justified. It was forbidden, and Mr. Davis knew it was forbidden as well as I knew it or any other man, because what took place in Washington or what took place at Richmond was known on either side of the line within a day or two thereafter.

“Mr. Speaker, this is not a proposition to punish Jefferson Davis. Nobody is attempting that. I thought the indictment of Mr. Davis at Richmond, under the administration of President Johnson, was not justifiable, for he was indicted only for that of which he was guilty in common with all others who went into the Confederate revolt. But here and now I express my firm conviction that there is not a gov-

ernment, not a civilized government on the face of the globe—I am very sure there is not a European government—that would not have arrested Mr. Davis at the close of the war, and when they had him in their power would not have tried him for maltreatment of the prisoners of war, and shot him within thirty days. France, Russia, England, Germany, Austria, any of them would have done it. The poor victim Wirz deserved his death for brutal treatment and murder of many victims, but it was weak policy on the part of our Government to allow Jefferson Davis to go at large and to hang Wirz. Wirz was nothing in the world but a mere subordinate, acting under orders, and there was no special reason for singling him out for death. I do not say he did not deserve it. He deserved no mercy, but, as I have often said, his execution seemed like passing over the president, superintendent, and board of directors in the case of a great railway accident and hanging the brakeman of the rear car.

“I repeat, there is no proposition here to punish Jefferson Davis. Nobody is seeking to do it. That time has gone by. The statute of limitations, the common feelings of humanity, supervene for his benefit. But what you ask us to do is to declare by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of Congress that we consider Mr. Davis worthy to fill the highest

offices in the United States, if he can find a constituency to indorse him. He is already a voter; he is at liberty to engage in any calling; he can buy and he can sell; he can go and he can come. He is as free as any man in the United States. It is now proposed in the pending bill for which the gentleman from Pennsylvania stands sponsor, that Mr. Davis, by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and a two-thirds vote of the House, shall be declared eligible and worthy to fill any office under the Government of the United States, including the Chief Magistracy thereof. For one, upon full deliberation, I refuse my assent to that proposition.

“One word, Mr. Speaker, by way of explanation, which I omitted. It has been said in mitigation of Jefferson Davis’s responsibility for the Andersonville horror, that the men who died there (I think the number was about twelve thousand) fell a prey to an epidemic, and died of a disease which could not be averted. The record shows this to be untrue. Out of thirty-five thousand men about thirty-three per cent. died; while of the soldiers encamped near by to guard the prisoners only one man in four hundred died—that is, within half a mile, only one in four hundred died, while inside the stockade one in three died.

“As to the general question of amnesty, Mr.

Speaker, as I have already said, it is too late to debate it. Whether the general and generous remission of political disability by the Republicans has been in all respects wise, or whether it has been unwise, I will not detain the House here and now to discuss. Even if I had a strong conviction upon that question, I do not know that it would be productive of any good to enunciate it at this time. But I must say it is a singular spectacle that the Republicans, in possession of the entire Government, have deliberately called back into political power the leading men of the South, nearly every one of whom is their bitter and relentless and malignant foe ; and to-day, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the very men who have received this amnesty are as busy as they were before the war in consolidating the old slave States into one compact political organization. We see the banner held out, blazoned again with the inscription that with the united South and a few votes from the North this country can be governed. I want the people to understand the character of the movement ; to appreciate its animus, to measure its intent. But I do not think that offering amnesty to the seven hundred and fifty men who are now without it will hasten or retard the course of events in the South.

“ It is often said that ‘ we shall lift Mr. Davis again into great consequence by refusing him am-

nesty.' That is not for me to consider. I only see before me, when his name is presented, a man, who, by a wave of his hand, by a nod of his head, could have put an end to the atrocious cruelties at Andersonville!

"Some of us had kinsmen there, many of us had friends there, all of us had countrymen there. In the name of those kinsmen, friends, and countrymen, I here protest, and shall with my vote protest, against calling back and crowning with the honors of full American citizenship the man who stands responsible for that organized murder."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ATTEMPT TO INVOLVE MR. BLAINE IN A RAILROAD BOND SCANDAL AND BREAK DOWN HIS POWER AS A LEADER.—THE MULLIGAN EPISODE.—MR. BLAINE'S DISCOMFITURE OF HIS ENEMIES.

THE winter of 1875 and 1876 was the occasion of general political excitement throughout the country concerning the choice of a successor to President Grant. The prejudice in the country against the rule of military ideas in civil affairs created a distrust of soldier candidates. It was believed by many that it would be best to have a candidate from civil life. President Grant was accused by some of the leading newspapers of having aspirations for a third term. This charge was believed by many, although it never had any foundation in fact. The *New York Herald* was conspicuous with sensational articles on "Cæsarism." The whole public was warned against the possible military dictatorship of Grant in the form of a third term. This newspaper took great credit to itself for putting an end to a movement which never existed.

Mr. Blaine was the most prominent man men-

tioned as the Republican candidate. His record was one which pleased the country. His success as Speaker and his opposition to the Southern element in Congress concentrated public attention upon him. The Southern members of Congress were very much opposed to Mr. Blaine after his Andersonville speech. He showed then such a comprehension and appreciation of the Southern policy of domination that they knew that if he should become President he would be stronger than any one then in the field to oppose them. He had gone on the record in Congress frequently in favor of cutting down their representation in the House, and in the Electoral College, to a basis of honesty and equality with the other sections of the country. They feared him more than they would any outsider, or new man, not so familiar with the subject and not so ready in practical devices to secure a desired end. President Grant, with all his military knowledge, lacked the practical knowledge of a civil administrator, and so he was powerless, even with the aid of the army, to suppress the disorders and outrages in the South. Every fall election was the occasion of bloody outbreaks throughout the South. Mr. Blaine, with his knowledge of the channels of legislation, with his fertility of resource, and his quick touch with the public, was just

the man to solve the Southern question. He was not a great believer in rough and violent means for the settlement of any question. It would have been more in accord with his policy to have placed the Southern people clearly and absolutely in the wrong by showing, through indisputable means, the injustice and the inequality of their share in the administration of national affairs. His capacity to do this has never been questioned by the Southern men. And when during the latter part of the winter of 1875, as it became evident that Mr. Blaine was to be the coming man of the Republican party, the most rigid scrutiny was turned in the direction of his past career to find, if possible, means to discredit him before the people.

There was so much said upon the subject that the ingenuity of Democratic associates at the North was stimulated. Preceding the Credit-Mobilier exposure, there were a number of paragraphs printed hinting at tremendous exposures; so before this movement upon Mr. Blaine was made there were a number of preliminary publications. In these statements it was charged that Mr. Blaine had received a large sum of money, \$64,000, as payment for a favorable decision of his when Speaker of the House. The \$64,000 in question were said to have been paid to him by the Union Pacific Railroad through its purchase of

\$75,000 worth of land-grant bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad. It was charged that these bonds had no particular value at the time of the sale, and that the bonds were used as a cover to hide the direct payment of the money upon the part of the Union Pacific Railroad. These publications appeared in a number of newspapers and were taken up so eagerly by the Democratic newspapers as to convey the idea that they were only too delighted at last to have material to destroy Mr. Blaine's character.

These publications were made with some circumstantiality early in April of that year, with the evident purpose of influencing the Cincinnati Convention, which was to meet on the 14th of June. On the 24th day of April, 1876, Mr. Blaine arose in the House, and, taking these various publications as the basis of his remarks, made a personal explanation. He stated then his entire connection with the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad, and no subsequent investigation ever disclosed anything more in the way of facts beyond what he himself freely gave in this explanation. He did not ask for any personal investigation for the reason that he knew then that if the subject were to go to a committee of investigation, the Democrats in charge of it would prolong the examination beyond the time of the

Convention, and would then perhaps delay their report until the last days of the canvass. He understood how hopeless it would be to be tried by any partisan committee which would be controlled by Southern members, eager and anxious to see him destroyed. So he made to the House this frank and full statement, which covered denials from Sidney Dillon, the President of the Union Pacific Railroad; Colonel Thomas Scott, and of Morton, Bliss & Company, through whom the payment was alleged to have been made, that they had ever paid Mr. Blaine any money at any time for any purpose whatsoever.

This Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad, whose affairs were afterward made the subject of investigation by the House, had quite an eventful history. This history was never fully brought out in the investigation of the House. There were so many sensational incidents, which occurred at the time of the investigation and Mr. Blaine's coming so near death from the sunstroke that followed, the plain history of the road was lost sight of. Mr. Blaine's connection with this road came through his brother-in-law, Jacob Stanwood. The latter was associated in business with Warren Fisher, of Boston. The Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad went to the public with certain securities based upon land grants which were originally given to it before the war. The most

succinct history of this road and of its business connections with Mr. Blaine was given to the Republican National Committee in 1880, when Mr. Blaine was a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. This history came from ex-Senator McDonald, of Arkansas. In his declaration upon the subject to the committee, he said that after the war the carpet-bag speculators in Arkansas saw in him a convenient capitalist, and invited him to come into Arkansas and settle. He had made a fortune at Fort Scott, Kan., as a post trader. There was in Arkansas at that time a very active company of speculators looking around for railroad possibilities. They seized upon a lapsed land grant of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad as a good subject for their first experiment. This grant was originally made four or five years before the war. It was part of the original land grants scheme of Stephen A. Douglas, who originated the giving by Congress of land grants to railroads in order to help the Illinois Central Railroad, which began building in 1856. A number of the Southern States were brought to support this scheme at that time by having land grants given them. None of them availed themselves of these land grants before the war. The war and its attendant events caused the grants to lapse.

The speculators who took up the Fort Smith

& Little Rock land grant found the original grant was for one million acres of land. They thought there would be little trouble in getting this land grant renewed, as they expected to get support from the other Southern States which had had the same character of grants. The argument in favor of the restoration of these land grants was a most plausible one. The States to which they were granted were impoverished by the war, and some sort of aid was needed to stimulate their depressed commercial interests. Mr. McDonald, soon after coming into the State, was elected to the United States Senate by the political influence of the land speculators. These men, who were interested in the plan of reviving the Fort Smith land grant, had but little money. But they had influence enough to secure the solid support of the Arkansas delegation in Congress.

The bills to renew the grant came up in 1871, two years after Mr. Blaine was first elected Speaker. At that time there was not one dollar invested in the enterprise. The company was not organized, and not a single bond or share of the stock had been issued. Mr. McDonald is the authority for the statement that no member of their delegation, and no one interested in the enterprise, ever spoke a word to Mr. Blaine about the bill. There was no need to



ANDREW CARNEGIE.

so do. Mr. Blaine could not have defeated the measure if he had so desired. He might have been able to delay it, but even then only for a short time, as the measure was passed through both Houses without a word of opposition or a dissenting vote.

Mr. Blaine's decision made in connection with this measure was upon a point of order raised when the bill was on its passage. It is one that any Speaker would have been obliged to make, in simply following the rules of the House. After the bill was passed its Arkansas projectors were unable to raise money in their own State, even with the land grant, and they went to Boston to raise the necessary money.

In Boston they met Mr. Bates, the President of the Bank of Commerce, a man of high character and standing. He took charge of the enterprise and brought it to the attention of two promoters, Messrs. Caldwell and Farrington. Mr. Caldwell soon became the master spirit of the enterprise. It was he who organized the original company, and floated the original bonds and stock. Mr. Caldwell was a very large-minded man in financial affairs, and he bonded the road for much more than was warranted. He conducted the affair as a speculative and not as a legitimate enterprise.

Mr. Caldwell, in pushing about for a market for his bonds, sought the support of Mr. Adams, the

founder of the express company bearing his name. Mr. W. Fisher was then an intimate friend of Mr. Adams, and it was on account of his relations with the express company that he was put into the road. Mr. Caldwell, soon after the organization of the company, made Mr. Blaine the agent for the sale of these securities in the State of Maine. He contracted to pay him a handsome commission for the work. He knew that Mr. Blaine had the confidence of the capitalists of his State, and made such representations concerning the value of the road that Mr. Blaine was induced to place some of the bonds among his friends. And from this transaction dates the whole trouble. Mr. Blaine did what no ordinary broker would do. In selling the bonds he gave with them a personal pledge of security.

Mr. Caldwell so over-bonded the road that it was impossible to meet the interest. The first that Mr. Blaine knew of this was the notification from Lot M. Morrill, an investor, that the interest was not being paid. Mr. Blaine then began to pay the interest on these bonds bought by his friends from his own pocket. This drain on his private resources soon embarrassed him greatly. At this time he had very little reserve money, and this failure upon the part of the road to take care of its liabilities threatened him with financial ruin. His letters written to Mr.

Fisher therefore were not written to Mr. Fisher as an individual but to him as the chief officer of the defaulting road. Mr. Blaine's loss through this transaction was at the time of the writing of these letters some \$20,000.

Mr. Caldwell afterward made a large sum of money out of the enterprise. With the money obtained by the sale of bonds in New England, he constructed twenty miles of the road, and then sold his rights to Allen & Marquand of St. Louis, clearing by the transaction some three-quarters of a million of dollars. The St. Louis men then sold this property in London for a million pounds sterling. Mr. W. Fisher was thrown over by Mr. Caldwell, and he was left with no other assets than Mr. Blaine's letters begging his road to do him justice. Mr. Fisher kept these letters, believing that a malevolent construction could be put upon them, and that they would ultimately have value.

Mr. Caldwell went to Europe after he had made his handsome profit in the affair, and engaged in railroad building in Italy. This is the explanation of his absence from the country at the time of the investigation before the House of Representatives, although he was only too ready to cable to the investigating committee the evidence of Mr. Blaine's entire innocence of any wrong-doing in the transac-

tion, and that he had had relations with him early in the affair only as a private individual, and that the road never had any favors to ask of him in his official capacity.

The first explanation made by Mr. Blaine in the House did not bring out the detail given in the statement of Mr. McDonald, but it gave the essential facts of the history so far as they could then interest the public. Mr. Blaine's critics, however, were more unrelenting than ever. Mr. W. Fisher's bookkeeper, James Mulligan, who had obtained possession of a number of Mr. Blaine's letters to Mr. Fisher bearing upon this transaction of the Fort Smith bonds gave out dark hints to Democrats in Boston that he had it in his power to ruin Mr. Blaine. Mulligan was an Irishman, small in size and with the mind and judgment of the men of the small bookkeeper class. His face was very small, his eyes were sharp and cunning, while his smooth-shaven face wore always an expression of extreme reserve and satisfaction. He had received some fancied affront from Mr. Blaine while he was in the employment of Mr. Fisher, and had cherished for a long time a feeling of resentment against him. He was also an extreme partisan Democrat. He belonged to the class of reformers who had been coming to the House of Representatives with tales of scandal

and stolen papers after the House Investigating Committees had begun their work under Democratic rule. He had no real knowledge of public affairs or of men, and he had no means of correctly interpreting any of the letters which were in his keeping. He construed every ordinary phrase in them relating to money matters with the malicious perversion of a narrow and prejudiced mind. He misquoted from them in his conversation with the Boston reporters, and made out an incorrect abstract of their contents. Some of the Democrats in the House heard of Mr. Mulligan and of his mysterious hints as to what he could do to destroy Mr. Blaine.

It was only a few days before the meeting of the Convention at Cincinnati that the House Democrats really got to work. A resolution of inquiry was introduced which did not mention Mr. Blaine, and the proposer of it, Mr. Tarbox, of Massachusetts, disclaimed in reply to a question from Mr. Frye, that it had any reference to Mr. Blaine. It was an innocently worded inquiry relating to land grant roads in general. Mr. Tarbox had undoubtedly been in communication with Mr. Mulligan, and was directly aiming at Mr. Blaine when he introduced this resolution. It must be remembered that Mr. Blaine made no concealment of his early business relations with the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad. As

an investor he had lost some \$20,000 through his investments and was endeavoring to recover the lost money through a suit in the State of Arkansas, at the time of the introduction of the Tarbox resolution. A resolution introduced by Mr. Luttrell, of California, relating to the Northern Pacific Railroad, was sent with the Tarbox resolution to the House Judiciary Committee, presided over by Proctor Knott, of Kentucky, a committee wholly dominated by Southern influences. The Tarbox resolution was introduced for the sole purpose of giving Mr. James Mulligan an opportunity to come to Washington and to tell his story and to publish Mr. Blaine's letters to Warren Fisher.

Mr. Mulligan was subpoenaed as a witness in company with Warren Fisher. Mr. Blaine learned by a private dispatch from one of his friends in Boston that these gentlemen were coming to testify against him, and that his private correspondence, extending through some years of business transactions, was to be given out to the public with the most malevolent constructions that could be placed upon them by partisan enemies. It was a time when investigations were the order of the day, and when the public mind had become so stirred up by charges and counter-charges that no man in public life cared to be considered as the owner of any railroad bonds or stocks,

no matter how legitimately they may have come into his possession. It was an anxious time for Mr. Blaine; of that there is no doubt. He was a very ambitious man. He was in the prime of life. He was the leader of his party, and nothing but adverse circumstances of a cruel and unjust character could prevent him from obtaining the nomination at Cincinnati, and with his popular following throughout the country he could be equally certain of an election to the office of the President of the United States.

He called upon Mr. Fisher, whom he had known for many years, at his hotel soon after his arrival in Washington. He asked him frankly if he came there opposed to him, and Mr. Fisher said then that he was not. It was clear that Mr. Fisher's business losses and the differences he had had in settling with Mr. Blaine had created the first feeling of unkindness upon his part. If it had not been for this feeling Mr. Fisher would in all probability have kept Mr. Blaine's private correspondence to himself. As it was, he was evidently ashamed when Mr. Blaine confronted him, and he readily consented to give up the letters. These letters either belonged to him or to Mr. Blaine. Mr. Mulligan had simply been made the temporary custodian of them by his employer, Mr. Fisher. Mr. Blaine asked to see the letters, and

when he went over them, he decided to put them in his pocket and keep them unless Mr. Mulligan would consent to not use them as part of his testimony. This was done with Mr. Fisher's consent. Mr. Blaine was thoroughly justified in this course. As Mr. Mulligan refused to give the pledge, the letters were Mr. Blaine's private property after Mr. Fisher released his title to them.

This act of Mr. Blaine was the subject of a sensational disclosure by Mr. Mulligan before the investigating committee the next day. The little Irish bookkeeper was not to be balked of his revenge; he was not to be cheated out of posing as a hero of a sensational episode. He went before the committee and swore that Mr. Blaine came to him the night before, and had gone down on his knees to beg him for the letters; that Mr. Blaine had threatened to commit suicide unless they were given to him, and that in the midst of his pleading on his knees to the little Irish bookkeeper and his threats to commit suicide he had offered him an appointment to a foreign consulate if he would surrender the documents, and afterward he had captured the letters, obtaining permission to look at them on a pledge to return them. This statement was a cunning mixture of fact and fiction. It was a fact that Mr. Blaine had called. It was a fact that he had demanded the let-

ters, and that he had put them in his pocket and had walked off with them. Mr. Fisher, Mr. Mulligan's employer, was present during the greater part of the visit. He saw Mr. Blaine when he arrived and he saw him when he went away. The only time when he was not present was when Mr. Blaine stepped into Mr. Mulligan's room to obtain the letters. Mr. Fisher testified that at no time did Mr. Blaine betray any particular excitement. He was indignant, as any gentleman would be, at being put in the position of having his private letters in the hands of a small-minded and merciless enemy. Mr. Mulligan's story of Mr. Blaine's pleading and threats of suicide can be classed with the testimony of the Washington grocer who swore before another investigating committee that General Grant came floating in on a cloud through the window of his sister's room.

Mr. Mulligan, before the Committee, pretended to give an abstract of the letters which were to prove Mr. Blaine guilty of having improperly acquired certain bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad. The committee then called upon Mr. Blaine to produce the letters themselves. Mr. Blaine declined to give the letters to the committee. He submitted the letters to counsel, Matthew H. Carpenter, a Republican lawyer, and Jeremiah S.

Black, one of the greatest Democratic lawyers in the country. They both signed a declaration that the letters were Mr. Blaine's private property, and that the committee had no legal right to demand them.

This attitude of Mr. Blaine was at once construed by the Democratic newspapers as evidence of guilt. It took very little in those days to secure a conviction before a board of partisans. The fact that the letters were withheld was considered sufficient to prove every charge that James Mulligan had made.

It was a very trying time for Mr. Blaine. He had then been eighteen years in public life, had served six years as Speaker, and was in his fourteenth year as a member of Congress. He had never before been accused by any one of dishonesty, and had properly prided himself upon his flawless honor and upon the perfection of his record as a public man. He had extreme pride, and the great sensitiveness of a refined and high-minded man. The malignant perversions of the facts of the situation which were daily published humiliated him beyond expression. It was now drawing near the close of an exciting session on which he had been in daily attendance, and where he had had his vital resources drawn upon by being in the forefront of fiery and partisan debates. Now he was surrounded by friends eager to advance his political fortunes as a presidential candi-

date, and the complications ensuing from the situation in the Investigating Chamber of the House Judiciary Committee were enough to upset and unbalance the judgment of the strongest-minded man. Outwardly, Mr. Blaine was composed. But he was fully alive to the effect that was being produced upon the public mind by the daily charges made against him and which were published far and wide in the newspapers of all parties. It was then that he resolved to go before the House and expose the unfairness of the committee which was trying him, and submit the letters which had been so much talked about to the American public for its judgment. In this Mr. Blaine acted wisely, and he secured for himself such a reversal of public opinion that the investigation was practically closed after he made his second statement to the House.

The submission of the letters to the House came in the nature of a surprise. Mr. Blaine had been in daily attendance upon the meetings of the Judiciary Committee. There he managed his own case and cross-examined Mr. Mulligan. He produced the witnesses who disproved nearly every word uttered by this voluble witness, but so long as the letters were kept back Mr. Blaine's enemies were continually saying that they contained the testimony which would prove Mr. Mulligan's charges. Mr. Blaine

had the reputation of doing sensational and dramatic things. This came from his habit of keeping his own counsel until he was ready to act, and then he moved with rapidity and celerity, and in the surprise created by the originality of his acts and by his force when in motion the dull and the commonplace men, who did not understand that method of tactics, employed continually the words sensational and dramatic to describe what he did.

In one sense of the word it was a dramatic scene when Mr. Blaine arose to attack the Investigating Committee which was aiming to destroy more than his life; his honor. There is no more cruel chapter in partisan politics than will be found in the history of this investigation of the House Judiciary Committee. Its unfairness was shown at the close of Mr. Blaine's address, and this too, came in the form of a dramatic surprise as a climax to his address to the House.

The House was crowded to its utmost capacity within five minutes after Mr. Blaine had risen to speak. It was a hot June day. It was on the fourth of June early in the afternoon that Mr. Blaine, dressed in a closely-buttoned-up black frock suit, took a position at the top of the first aisle on the Republican side and began to address the Speaker, asking the privilege of making a personal explana-

tion. There was a subdued energy in Mr. Blaine's manner which attracted the attention of everybody. All present felt that a scene was imminent, and pages were sent out scurrying all through the committee-rooms to notify members that something unusual was on in the House, and that Mr. Blaine had the floor. This was enough to bring every one into the chamber. When Mr. Blaine had fairly begun speaking every member in the Capitol building was present, while many Senators from the other side joined them. Mr. Blaine never appeared better than as he walked up and down the aisle, making his statement. He was never more deliberate, never more at his ease, and never more master of himself. When he reached the close of his preliminary statement, and brandished in the face of the House the package containing the missing letters, there was a long murmuring movement of excitement which ran through the chamber.

The atmosphere of the room was stifling. Outside the thermometer registered ninety-two in the shade. The poor means of ventilating the House of Representatives made the atmosphere close, and the temperature was much higher than the out-door registry.

Mr. Blaine's statement was one which will impress every one with its candor and frankness. This brief explanation was made without any interruption, and

was listened to with the most profound attention. Mr. Blaine said :

“ Mr. Speaker, on the second day of May this resolution was passed by the House :

“ ‘ Whereas it is publicly alleged, and is not denied by the officers of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, that that corporation did, in the year 1871 or 1872, become the owner of certain bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad Company, for which bonds the said Union Pacific Railroad Company paid a consideration largely in excess of their market or actual value, and that the Board of Directors of said Union Pacific Railroad Company, though urged, have neglected to investigate said transaction ; therefore,

“ ‘ *Be it resolved*, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire if any such transaction took place, and, if so, what were the circumstances or inducements thereto, from what person or persons said bonds were obtained, and upon what consideration, and whether the transaction was from corrupt design or in furtherance of any corrupt object ; and that the committee have power to send for persons and papers.’ ”

“ That resolution on its face, and in its fair intent, was obviously designed to find out whether any improper thing had been done by the Union Pacific

Railroad Company ; and of course, incidentally thereto, to find out with whom the transaction was made.

“No sooner was the sub-committee designated than it became entirely obvious that the resolution was solely and only aimed at me. I think there had not been three questions asked until it was evident that the investigation was to be a personal one upon me, and that the Union Pacific Railroad, or any other incident of the transaction, was secondary, insignificant, and unimportant. I do not complain of that ; I do not say that I had any reason to complain of it. If the investigation was to be made in that personal sense, I was ready to meet it.

“The gentleman on whose statement the accusation rested was first called. He stated what he knew from rumor. Then there were called Mr. Rollins, Mr. Morton, and Mr. Millard, from Omaha, a Government director of the Union Pacific Road, and finally Thomas A. Scott. The testimony was completely and conclusively in disproof of the charge that there was any possibility that I could have had anything to do with the transaction. When the famous witness Mulligan came here loaded with information in regard to the Fort Smith Road, the gentleman from Virginia drew out what he knew had no reference whatever to the question of investigation. He then and there insisted on all of my private memoranda

being allowed to be exhibited by that man in reference to business that had no more connection, no more relation, no more to do with that investigation than with the North Pole.

“ And the gentleman tried his best, also, though I believe that has been abandoned, to capture and use and control my private correspondence. This man has selected, out of correspondence running over a great many years, letters which he thought would be peculiarly damaging to me. He came here loaded with them. He came here for a sensation. He came here primed. He came here on that particular errand. I was advised of it, and I obtained those letters under circumstances which have been notoriously scattered over the United States, and are known to everybody. I have them. I claim that I have the entire right to those letters, not only by natural right, but by all the principles and precedents of law, as the man who held those letters in possession held them wrongfully. The committee that attempted to take those letters from that man, for use against me, proceeded wrongfully. It proceeded in all boldness to a most defiant violation of the ordinary private and personal rights which belong to every American citizen. I wanted the gentleman from Kentucky and the gentleman from Virginia to introduce that question upon this floor, but they did not do it.



LEVI P. MORTON.

“I stood up and declined, not only on the conclusions of my own mind, but by eminent legal advice. I was standing behind the rights which belong to every American citizen, and if they wanted to treat the question in my person anywhere in the legislative halls, or judicial halls, I was ready. Then there went forth everywhere the idea and impression that because I would not permit that man, or any man whom I could prevent from holding as a menace over my head my private correspondence, there must be in it something deadly and destructive to my reputation. I would like any gentleman to stand up here and tell me that he is willing and ready to have his private correspondence scanned over and made public for the last eight or ten years. I would like any gentleman to say that. Does it imply guilt? Does it imply wrong-doing? Does it imply any sense of weakness that a man will protect his private correspondence? No, sir; it is the first instinct to do it, and it is the last outrage upon any man to violate it.

“Now, Mr. Speaker, I say that I have defied the power of the House to compel me to produce these letters. I speak with all respect to this House. I know its powers, and I trust I respect them. But I say that this House has no more power to order what shall be done or not done with my

private correspondence than it has with what I shall do in the nurture and education of my children, not a particle. The right is as sacred in the one case as it is in the other. But, sir, having vindicated that right, standing by it, ready to make any sacrifice in the defense of it, here and now if any gentleman wants to take issue with me on behalf of this House I am ready for any extremity of contest or conflict in behalf of so sacred a right. And while I am so, I am not afraid to show the letters. Thank God Almighty, I am not ashamed to show them. There they are (holding up a package of letters). There is the very original package. And with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification I do not attempt to conceal, with a sense of the outrage which I think any man in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of forty-four millions of my countrymen while I read those letters from this desk." [Applause.]

As Mr. Blaine uttered the last sentence he turned to his desk, and catching with a swift movement the package of letters, held them up in his right hand. At his attitude and pose of defiance there was a storm of applause. Mr. Blaine then proceeded to read these letters. It is not necessary to cumber the record with them all, for the reason that even his

most extreme enemies have never claimed that there were more than two of them capable of a construction unfavorable to Mr. Blaine. The others related to the business transactions growing out of Mr. Blaine's relations with Mr. Fisher. The one letter which was used by the caricaturists of the time, and by the opponents of Mr. Blaine was that which Mr. Blaine, in speaking of his co-operation in the affairs of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Road, said: "I do not feel that I shall prove a deadhead in the enterprise if I once embark in it. I see various channels in which I know I can be useful."

The letter in which Mr. Mulligan says that Mr. Blaine admits the receiving the \$64,000 is one that was never used by his enemies. In reality, this letter shows that Mr. Blaine was a victim in the whole affair, and a loser of some \$20,000. The second letter, which is considered to have an unfavorable bearing upon Mr. Blaine's position, was submitted to the House with the following introduction by Mr. Blaine:

"In the autumn, six or eight months afterward, I was looking over the *Globe*, probably with some curiosity if not pride, to see the decisions I had made the first five weeks I was Speaker. I had not until then recalled this decision of mine, and when I

came across it all the facts came back to me fresh, and I wrote this letter :

“(Personal.)

“‘AUGUSTA, MAINE, Oct. 4th, 1869.

“‘MY DEAR SIR :—I spoke to you a short time ago about a point of interest to your railroad company that occurred at the last session of the Congress.

“‘It was on the last night of the session, when the bill renewing the land grant to the State of Arkansas for the Little Rock road was reached, and Julian, of Indiana, chairman of the Public Lands Committee, and by right entitled to the floor, attempted to put on the bill as an amendment, the Fremont El Paso scheme—a scheme probably well known to Mr. Caldwell. The House was thin, and the Lobby in the Fremont interest had the thing all set up, and Julian’s amendment was likely to prevail if brought to a vote. Roots and the other members from Arkansas, who were doing their best for their own bill (to which there seemed to be no objection), were in despair, for it was well known that the Senate was hostile to the Fremont scheme, and if the Arkansas bill had gone back to the Senate with Julian’s amendments, the whole thing would have gone on the table and slept the sleep of death.

“ ‘In this dilemma Roots came to me to know what on earth he could do under the rules ; for he said it was vital to his constituents that the bill should pass. I told him that Julian’s amendment was entirely out of order, because not germane ; but he had not sufficient confidence in his own knowledge of the rules to make the point, but he said General Logan was opposed to the Fremont scheme and would probably make the point. I sent my page to General Logan with the suggestion, and he at once made the point. I could not do otherwise than sustain it, and so the bill was freed from the mischievous amendment moved by Julian, and at once passed without objection.

“ ‘At that time I had never seen Mr. Caldwell, but you can tell him that, without knowing it, I did him a great favor.

“ ‘ Sincerely yours,

“ ‘ J. G. BLAINE.

“ ‘ W. FISHER, JR., ESQ.,

“ ‘ 24 India Street, Boston.”

“ The amendment referred to in that letter will be found in *The Congressional Globe* of the first session of the Forty-first Congress, page 702. That was before the Boston persons had ever touched the road. * * * *

“There is mentioned in another letter \$6,000 of land-grant bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad for which I stood as only a part owner; these were only in part mine. As I have started to make a personal explanation, I want to make a full explanation in regard to this matter. Those bonds were not mine except in this sense: In 1869, a lady who is a member of my family, and whose financial affairs I have looked after for many years—many gentlemen will know to whom I refer without my being more explicit—bought, on the recommendation of Mr. Hooper, \$6,000 in land-grant bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad as they were issued in 1869. She got them on what was called the stockholder's basis; I think it was a very favorable basis on which they distributed the bonds. These \$6,000 of land-grant bonds were obtained in that way.

“In 1871 the Union Pacific Railroad Company broke down, and these bonds fell so that they were worth about forty cents on the dollar. She was anxious to make herself safe, and I had so much confidence in the Fort Smith land bonds that I proposed to her to make an exchange. The six bonds were in my possession, and I had previously advanced money to her for certain purposes, and held a part of these bonds as security for that advance. The bonds, in that sense, and in

that sense only, were mine—that they were security for the loan which I had made. They were all literally hers; they were all sold finally for her account—not one of them for me. I make this statement in order to be perfectly fair.”

The lady referred to in the statement given by Mr. Blaine was Miss Dodge (Gail Hamilton). When Mr. Blaine finished reading the letters he tossed them back on his desk with an air of fierce contempt, and then moved down the aisle toward the Democratic side. It was evident from his manner that he had by no means closed the story of his case by the presentation and reading of these letters. With the air of a man who has nothing to fear from the judgment of the public to which he had made his explanation and appeal, he proceeded to say, with increased emphasis and energy: “I do not wish to detain the House, but I have one or two more observations to make. The specific charge that went to the committee as it affects me is whether I was a party in interest to the sixty-four-thousand-dollar transaction, and I submit that up to this time there has not been one particle of proof before the committee sustaining that charge. Gentlemen have said that they heard somebody else say, and generally, when that somebody else was brought on the stand, it appeared that he did not say it at all. Colonel

Thomas A. Scott swore very positively and distinctly, under the most rigid cross-examination, all about it. Let me call attention to that letter of mine which Mulligan says refers to that. I ask your attention, gentlemen, as closely as if you were a jury, while I show the absurdity of that statement. It is in evidence that, with the exception of a small fraction, the bonds which were sold to parties in Maine were first mortgage bonds. It is in evidence, over and over again, that the bonds which went to the Union Pacific Road were land-grant bonds. Therefore, it is a moral impossibility that the bonds taken up to Maine should have gone to the Union Pacific Railroad. They were of different series, different kinds, different colors, everything different, as different as if not issued within a thousand miles of each other. So, on its face, it is shown that it could not be so.

“There has not been, I say, one positive piece of testimony in any direction. They sent to Arkansas to get some hearsay about bonds. They sent to Boston to get some hearsay. Mulligan was contradicted by Fisher, and Atkins and Scott swore directly against him. Morton, of Morton, Bliss & Co., never heard my name in the matter. Carnegie, who negotiated the note, never heard my name in that connection. Rollins

said it was one of the intangible rumors he spoke of as floating in the air. Gentlemen who have lived any time in Washington need not be told that intangible rumors get very considerable circulation here; and if a man is to be held accountable before the bar of public opinion for intangible rumors, who in the House will stand?

“Now, gentlemen, those letters I have read were picked out of correspondence extending over fifteen years. The man did his worst, the very worst he could, out of the most intimate business correspondence of my life. I ask, gentlemen, if any of you, and I ask it with some feeling, can stand a severer scrutiny of, or more rigid investigation into, your private correspondence? That was the worst he could do.

“There is one piece of testimony wanting. There is but one thing to close the complete circle of evidence. There is but one witness whom I could not have, to whom the Judiciary Committee, taking into account the great and intimate connection he had with the transaction, was asked to send a cable dispatch, and I ask the gentleman from Kentucky, if that cable dispatch was sent to him?”

As Mr. Blaine concluded this last sentence he was down at the front on the Republican side. Proctor Knott, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, occu-

pied a seat at a front desk on the Democratic side. He is a man of medium height, with a fiery red face, set off by a snowy white mustache and white hair. His disposition is sluggish, and he turns about in debate with great deliberation. He is anything but a ready man. There was no one in the House more surprised than he when Mr. Blaine launched this first question at him. The sympathy of the audience was thoroughly with Mr. Blaine, as it is always with any one who is gallantly maintaining himself against a persecution, instead of a prosecution. If he had been on trial for his life the interest and excitement could not have been greater. As Mr. Blaine made this inquiry, Mr. Frye, of Maine, called out, "Who?"

Mr. Blaine replied, without turning in Mr. Frye's direction, keeping his entire regard concentrated upon Mr. Knott—"To Josiah Caldwell."

Mr. Knott was now on his feet. He was evidently much disturbed at being made the focus of attention of this great audience, with Mr. Blaine towering above him in an attitude of stern indignation. The positions in the twinkling of an eye had become changed. Mr. Blaine was now the prosecutor, and Mr. Knott was on trial before the public.

Mr. Knott said—"I will reply to the gentleman that Judge Hunton and myself have both endeav-

ored to get Mr. Caldwell's address, and have not yet got it."

Mr. Blaine at this became aggressive. He even advanced in Mr. Knott's direction, so that only a few feet separated them, as he said—"Has the gentleman from Kentucky received a dispatch from Mr. Caldwell?"

To this Mr. Knott said—"I will explain that directly."

Mr. Blaine now came at him with a perfectly furious rush, and imperiously called out—"I want a categorical answer."

Mr. Knott, standing still at his desk, and looking stolidly at Mr. Blaine, said—"I have received a dispatch purporting to be from Mr. Caldwell." Mr. Knott laid great emphasis upon the word "purporting."

At this Mr. Blaine assumed a triumphant air as he said—"You did?"

It was now Mr. Knott's turn to question. He asked, still laboring under the disadvantage of the surprise so suddenly sprung on him—"How did you know I got it?"

Mr. Blaine, however, was the examiner. He came back at Mr. Knott with another question, delivered with the same intense energy and with the rapid utterances of indignation. "When did you get it?"

he asked. "I want the gentleman from Kentucky to answer when he got it."

Mr. Knott said—"Answer my question first."

Mr. Blaine—"I never heard of it until yesterday."

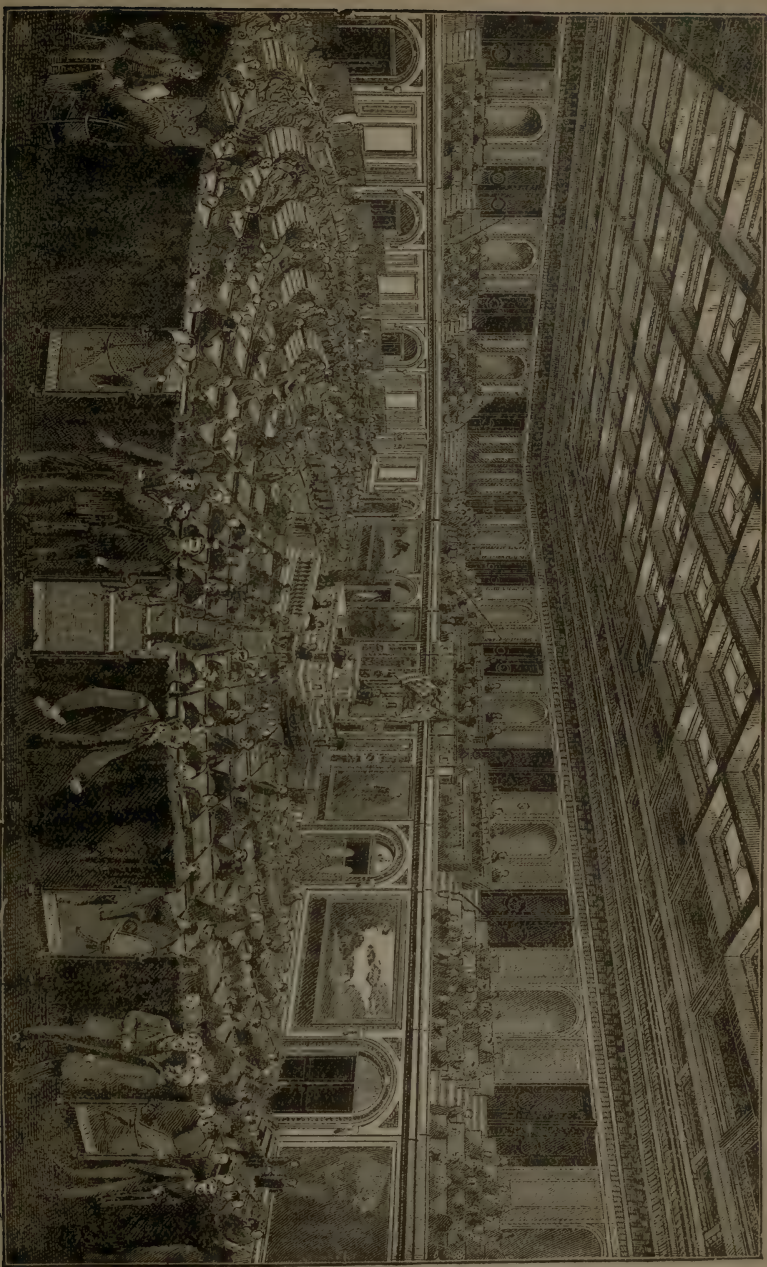
Mr. Knott—"How did you hear it?"

Mr. Blaine now appeared to be content for the moment with the confession that he had drawn from Mr. Knott acknowledging the receipt of a dispatch from Mr. Caldwell. He stepped forward to Mr. Knott's desk and right to his face he said, "I heard you got a dispatch last Thursday morning at eight o'clock from Josiah Caldwell completely and absolutely exonerating me from this charge, and you have suppressed it."

This very remarkable declaration charging extreme unfairness upon the part of the chairman of the committee, and reflecting most seriously upon the honor of the committee, was followed by a perfect storm of applause throughout the chamber.

Hardly had this applause come to an end than Mr. Blaine mercilessly pursued his advantage, as he said, "I want the gentleman to answer." Then there was a very dramatic pause during which Mr. Knott said nothing but shrugged his shoulders contemptuously.

Mr. Blaine continued, "Does the gentleman from



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Kentucky decline to answer? The gentleman from Kentucky in responding probably, I think from what he said, intended to convey the idea that I had some illegitimate knowledge of how that dispatch was obtained. I have had no communication with Josiah Caldwell. I have had no means of knowing from the telegraph office whether the dispatch was received. But I tell the gentleman from Kentucky that murder will out, and secrets will leak. And I tell the gentleman now, and I am prepared to state to this House, that at eight o'clock on last Thursday morning, or thereabouts, the gentleman from Kentucky received and receipted for a message addressed to him from Josiah Caldwell, in London, entirely corroborating and substantiating the statement of Thomas A. Scott, which he had just read in the New York papers, and entirely exculpating me from the charge which I am bound to believe, from the suppression of that report, that the gentleman is anxious to fasten upon me." [Protracted applause from the floor and galleries.]

This blunder, to call it by the mildest word, of the Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee gave Mr. Blaine great advantage. And while it would be too much to assume that the enemies of Mr. Blaine were any the less disposed to attack him after this

explanation in the House, the fact yet remains that this explanation and exposure of the methods of the committee practically put an end to the investigation. There were only one or two meetings after that, and the testimony brought out by them was not thought worthy of summarizing, even in the form of a report. The unfairness in the suppression of the dispatch from Mr. Caldwell has a much better illustration in a subsequent examination before the House Judiciary Committee than was given in the colloquy between Mr. Blaine and Mr. Knott in the House of Representatives. Mr. Knott failed to submit the telegram in question even before the committee, and it was never made a part of the record of the Investigating Committee as it was officially received by him. A copy of it was offered by Mr. Frye, a member of the committee, but it was not admitted into the official records of the testimony taken. Mr. Blaine's cross-examination of Mr. Knott concerning this dispatch was much more searching in the committee-room, at the session held on the 7th of June than the one which took place in the House on the 4th of that month. Those who still believe that this investigation was an impartial-one should read with care this second colloquy which took place between Mr. Blaine and Mr. Knott in the committee-room. Mr. Blaine had gone to the committee-room for the pur-

pose of insisting that the Caldwell dispatch should go on the record, and that Mr. Knott should incorporate this evidence of his innocence of the charge made with the evidence offered by Mr. Mulligan. In the committee-room Mr. Knott turned to Mr. Blaine as he said: "You have asked some questions about that telegram."

The following questions and answers made the practical closing chapter of this attempt upon the part of the Judiciary Committee to break down and destroy Mr. Blaine. This colloquy was as follows:

Mr. Blaine—Yes; I have several to ask if you will do me the honor to answer them.

Mr. Knott—What was your question?

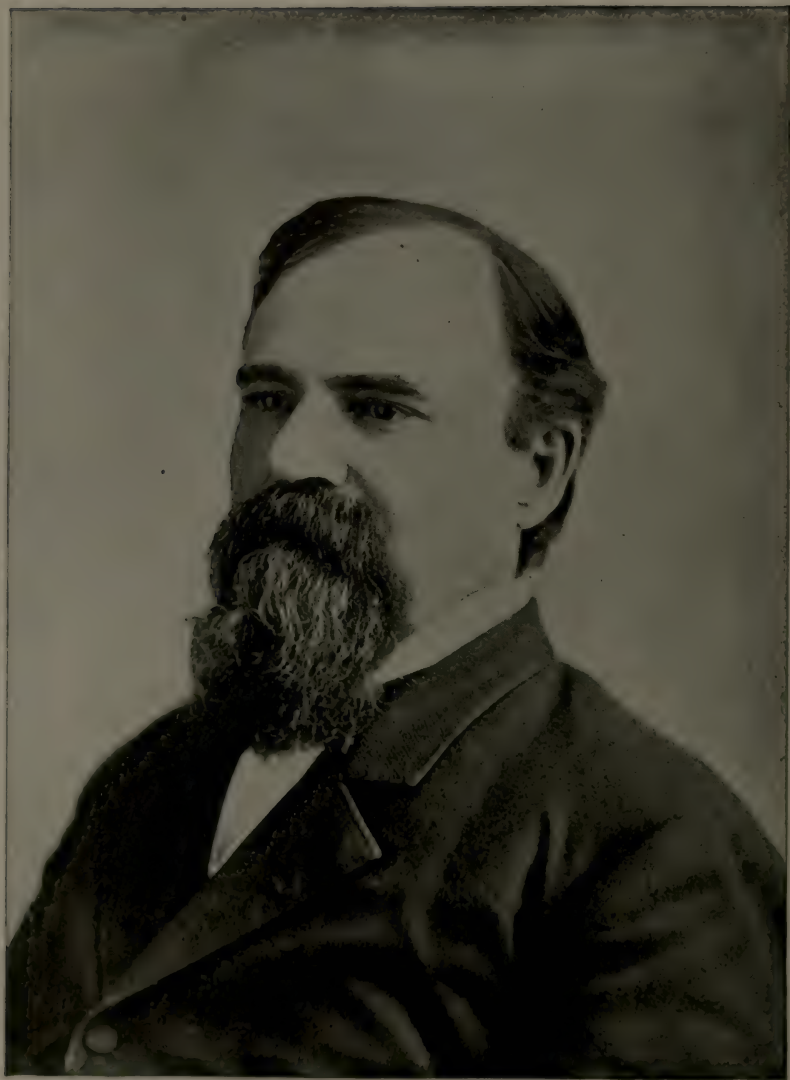
Mr. Blaine—I want to know whether you are going to produce that telegram to the House of Representatives?

Mr. Knott—I never had any other intention than to produce that telegram to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Blaine—You had it in your pocket five days at the time I brought it into the House.

Mr. Knott—I am aware that I had it five days.

Mr. Blaine—Did you, during Thursday, Friday, Saturday, or Sunday, deny to newspaper correspondents that you had heard from Josiah Caldwell?



HON. CHARLES FOSTER.

Mr. Knott—I will make a statement about that telegram in full.

Mr. Blaine—That is a question susceptible of a very direct answer.

Mr. Knott—I received that telegram on Thursday morning. I will state, as particularly as I can recollect, the circumstances. I had gone to my breakfast. After breakfast I took a walk as usual—somewhat protracted. I came back to my room and my wife called my attention to the telegram. I took it up and read it, and immediately started to the Capitol. That telegram excited my suspicion for this reason: A proposition had been made some time before, by some member of the Judiciary Committee (I don't know by whom, for I was not present), that a telegraphic dispatch should be sent to Josiah Caldwell to know if he would return to this country and testify. That proposition was resisted, as I was informed, by Mr. Blaine and by Mr. Blaine's friends.

Mr. Blaine—On the ground that it was utterly and preposterously absurd, because you could not get him to come.

Mr. Knott—On the ground that he could not be got.

Mr. Blaine—Yes; and that if he would not come, it would then be said that he would not come because his testimony would be unfavorable to me. It would

he said, "Oh! yes; he cannot come; he is conveniently absent in Europe."

Mr. Knott—I do not desire to be interrupted any more in my statement. Some days afterward the question was again raised in the Judiciary Committee as to whether a telegraphic dispatch should be sent asking Mr. Caldwell if he would come and testify. In that instance, also, Mr. Blaine's friends resisted the motion.

Mr. Blaine—On the same grounds.

Mr. Knott—It nevertheless prevailed. The Committee on the Judiciary instructed me to send such a telegraphic dispatch to Mr. Caldwell. I did not know where Mr. Caldwell was to be found. I went to the Representative from Boston, Mr. Warren, thinking that he would know, and asked him where Mr. Caldwell might be found. He told me he did not know. I asked him to inquire, telling him that I had been instructed by the committee to send a dispatch to Mr. Caldwell. He said he would write to a gentleman in Boston and ascertain. In the meantime I went to Judge Hunton and told him I had a great variety of things on hand, and asked him to take hold of that matter and find out where Mr. Caldwell was, and to telegraph to him in my name. Mr. Warren, some days afterward, came to me and told me that he had received a letter from his

friend in Boston, informing him that Mr. Caldwell was somewhere, I think, in Italy. When, therefore, I received a dispatch from Mr. Caldwell, without having dispatched to him, it occurred to me that it was suspicious.

Mr. Blaine—Would not the publication of it have exposed it?

Mr. Knott—I beg the gentleman not to interrupt me. Furthermore, there was simply at the top of the dispatch the word "London," no month, no day, no place, no street, no house. I knew nothing about these cable-dispatches—had never sent one in my life, and never even saw one before that. I have since been informed that it is customary in London to keep the addresses of persons sending dispatches, and not to put the address in the dispatch itself. I did not know it at that time, and I don't know it now except from information. As soon as I could, after reading that dispatch, I came to the Capitol and read it to Judge Lynde, and, I think, to Judge Lord, Mr. Jenks, and Mr. McMahon.* I think it was to these four gentlemen that I read it; I know that these four gentlemen were present at the meeting, and my impression is that they were there when I read the dispatch. I am confident that Judge Lynde was. That was on Thursday. On Friday there was a meeting of the committee. A variety of subjects were under

* All Democrats.

consideration, and this matter, so far as I know, was not mentioned.

Mr. Blaine—You did not think of mentioning the telegram to the committee?

Mr. Knott—I did not think of it. The truth is, Mr. Blaine, I had a great many things to think of besides your Presidential aspirations. I am free to say I do not recollect that it occurred to me at all.

Mr. Blaine—I am not alluding to myself, but to the dispatch. That might have occurred to you.

Mr. Knott.—I say I do not recollect that it occurred to me at all.

Mr. Blaine—Did you read it to any other members of your committee besides Mr. Hunton and Mr. Lynde?

Mr. Knott—Those were the only persons.

Mr. Blaine—Are those the only persons that you mentioned it to?

Mr. Knott—Let me get through. I have told you I did not want to be interrupted. On that same occasion, while we were in the committee-room, Mr. McMahon came over and described a scene which was taking place in this room, and in which he said Mr. Mulligan had stated that Mr. Blaine had come before him and got letters from him under promise to return them, almost getting on his knees, etc.—describing the scene as it had been described by the

witness. Whether it was on the next day or on that same day I do not now remember, I mentioned the fact to Mr. Hunton that I had received a telegraphic dispatch from Mr. Caldwell, and repeated to him the contents of the dispatch. I did not read it to him. I told him of it, however.

Mr. Hunton—And you stated your suspicions in regard to it?

Mr. Knott—I stated my suspicions in regard to it, saying I thought it was a trick. I did not regard the telegraphic dispatch as a matter of evidence in any sense of the word. Had a dispatch come from Mr. Caldwell saying that Mr. Blaine was guilty—that he had got the bonds from him—it would have been injustice to Mr. Blaine to have given it to the public.

Mr. Blaine—You will permit me, however, to believe that it would have got out pretty soon.

Mr. Knott—What did you say, sir?

Mr. Blaine—I do not think that you would have kept back testimony that would have hurt me; that is what I have said, sir.

Mr. Knott—Do you mean to say that I would have done you such an injustice as that?

Mr. Hunton—Let it be understood, gentlemen, that there must not be any interruptions.

Mr. Blaine—I shall not interrupt the gentleman

further ; I know that the Cheeseborough dispatch—let me make that remark—

Mr. Hunton—No, sir ; the floor has not been conceded.

Mr. Knott—So far as the Cheeseborough dispatch is concerned, I know nothing about it. I have not read it. All I have to say is that I have had a variety of other things to think about and to attend to, and I know nothing about it. So far as this dispatch is concerned, however, it was my object to verify it, if possible ; but in any event to present it to the committee to do with as they saw proper, and to take any action that they saw fit. That was my intention even had not the scene taken place which did take place on Monday ; that dispatch would have been presented to this committee, perhaps, on the next day.

Mr. Blaine—Or some time along.

Mr. Knott—Before the report would come in, and in time to subserve your purpose. I want to add here, and Judge Hunton will bear me out in it, that when the Tarbox resolution was introduced he and I agreed that, in justice to Mr. Blaine, that thing ought to be investigated as soon as possible, and that he should be exonerated, if he were innocent. I understand it to be his desire, and the desire of his friends—

Mr. Blaine (interposing)—Yes ; but in case this dispatch were genuine—

Mr. Hunton—The rule must be observed that interruptions must not take place.

Mr. Knott—After the order of the committee had been made that I should telegraph to Mr. Caldwell I several times talked with Mr. Hunton, and asked him if he had found out where Mr. Caldwell was. I will say further that I considered it due to Mr. Blaine that Mr. Caldwell's testimony should be taken, if possible, and that if he refused to come at the request of the committee Mr. Blaine could not be blamed for it. As to the statement that I was suppressing that telegraphic dispatch, or that I had any intention of keeping it from the committee, I denounce here, as I have denounced elsewhere, all insinuations to that effect as absolutely false.

Mr. Blaine—But I did not understand you to deny that you kept it in your pocket five days.

Mr. Knott—I say I kept the dispatch from the time I received it.

Mr. Blaine—Now, if you are through, I will ask you a simple question or two.

Mr. Knott—I did not myself receive that dispatch, nor receipt for it. I do not know who executed the receipt for it, but one night a boy wearing the uniform of the telegraph company came to my room and

asked me to give him my initials, saying that there was a dispatch at the office which had been lying there for several days for Mr. Knott, and he wanted my initials to see whether I was the person to whom it ought to be brought. I picked up a piece of paper, wrote my full name upon it, and handed it to the boy. I did not anticipate that a report would be made in this case before this time, but I did intend that that telegraphic dispatch should be laid before the committee, and let the committee do what it pleased in the matter.

Mr. Blaine—When were you intending to do that?

Mr. Knott—I had not fixed any particular time for doing it.

Mr. Blaine—Then I understand that you do not call that suppressing a dispatch?

Mr. Knott—I do not.

Mr. Blaine—Was it not suppressing it from the public for the time being?

Mr. Knott—What right had the public to it?

Mr. Blaine—The same right that the public had to all the inculpatory testimony against me that went out.

Mr. Knott—It was not my fault that it went out.

Mr. Blaine—But it was your fault that that dispatch did not get out.

Mr. Knott—My colleagues will all bear me witness that in every investigation that has taken place before a committee in which I have been engaged, I have been particularly careful to prevent anything from getting out that would inculcate anybody before a report was made. I have been blamed by newspaper reporters for being so reticent, for the simple reason that I did not want any man to be blamed through me, by *ex-parte* statements made in a committee-room.

Mr. Blaine—You stated that you wanted to hold that dispatch for the purpose of verifying its authenticity; you thought that there might be something indirect, or bogus, or “put up” about it. What steps did you take to verify its authenticity?

Mr. Knott—I wanted to find out Mr. Caldwell’s address.

Mr. Blaine—You had this dispatch in your hands from Thursday morning, the 1st of June, and never brought it to the notice of the public until I interrogated you on the floor of the House on Monday, the 5th of June. In those intervening five days what steps did you take to acquire information as to whether that was an authentic dispatch?

Mr. Knott—I took the only steps that I thought I ought to take to find out where Caldwell was, and to telegraph to him.

Mr. Blaine—Did it ever occur to you to telegraph to the London office?

Mr. Knott—No, sir.

Mr. Blaine—You are a lawyer, and, I presume, a lawyer of prominence, else you would not be the chief of the Judiciary Committee. If a dispatch comes to you from Josiah Caldwell, what is the presumption as to its authenticity; that it is from Josiah Caldwell, or that it is not?

Mr. Knott—That depends upon circumstances.

Mr. Blaine—What is the presumption?

Mr. Knott—If I knew that Josiah Caldwell was in London, and if I had no other information to give me ground for suspicion, I would presume that the dispatch came from Josiah Caldwell.

Mr. Blaine—You had information that he was building a railroad in Italy, near Turin, and Turin is only forty-eight hours from London. During the course of Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, while you had this dispatch, did you not state to one or more newspaper reporters that you had not heard from Josiah Caldwell?

Mr. Knott—I will state about that. I was met in the rotunda by some gentleman whom I do not know, and who asked me if I had heard from Caldwell. Probably you [Mr. Blaine] know who that gentleman is. I do not, and would not know him now if I

saw him. My reply to him was, "I have not yet found out where Caldwell is."

Mr. Blaine—You got that dispatch on Thursday morning, and on that day there was a regular meeting of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Knott—No sir; that was the day that Mulligan was examined here.

Mr. Blaine—You were here on Friday morning, twenty-four hours after you got that dispatch.

Mr. Knott—Yes, sir.

Mr. Blaine—And you had a meeting called of the Judiciary Committee on Saturday.

Mr. Knott—Yes, sir.

Mr. Blaine—Specially on my case.

Mr. Knott—Yes, sir.

Mr. Blaine—And it does not seem to have occurred to you at either of those meetings to say anything about that dispatch.

Mr. Knott—I will explain that. In the first meeting we were engaged in general business. In the second meeting we were engaged, from the time the Committee convened until it broke up, in discussing the proposition presented to us in reference to the letters that you had obtained from Mulligan.

Mr. Blaine—Did you recollect then that you had this telegram?

Mr. Knott—I do not know whether it occurred to

me or not, and I do not know that I should have brought up the question at that time if it had occurred to me.

Mr. Blaine—Is it not probable that if you did not recollect it when it was quite fresh you would have forgotten it afterward?

Mr. Knott—No, sir; I think not.

Mr. Blaine—When it was fresh you forgot it, but you think that after it got old you would have recollected it? Do I understand you correctly in that? I merely want to wind up by having the world know that on the day that this dispatch came to Mr. Knott, Mr. Lynde, Mr. Lord, Mr. Jenks, Mr. McMahon, and Mr. Hunton, of the House of Representatives, all knew of it. Mr. Lawrence,* of this subcommittee, I believe, knew nothing of it.

Mr. Lawrence—I heard nothing of it.

Mr. Ashe—[To Mr. Blaine] I informed you this morning that I heard nothing of it before I heard it in the House.

Mr. Blaine—I have not mentioned your name as one who had heard it.

Mr. Knott—I gave it as my impression that those four gentlemen, whom I first named, were present when I read the dispatch. I am confident that Mr. Lynde was present, and my impression is that the others were all present, too, when I read it out, with-

out any reservation whatever, in the room of the managers at the Senate end of the building.

Mr. Blaine—Can you tell me what processes or steps you are waiting on to publish the dispatch, or to give it to the House?

Mr. Knott—I am going to give the dispatch to the House through the regular channel—that is, through the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Blaine—You had a meeting of this committee, I think, yesterday?

Mr. Knott—Yes, sir.

Mr. Blaine—Did you bring that subject up?

Mr. Knott—I referred the matter of your resolution to the sub-committee. I suppose we will take our own way of transacting our own business.

Mr. Blaine—Can you give any information to the public as to when you expect to produce that dispatch?

Mr. Knott—I do not choose to do so; I choose to transact business in my own way, so far as I am concerned. The public has had the substance of that dispatch from my own lips. I stated it on Monday.

Mr. Blaine—You said then that Mr. Caldwell in that dispatch stated that he would send an affidavit if necessary?

Mr. Knott—Yes, sir.

Mr. Blaine—That approaches to something like testimony. You said that that dispatch was no testi-

mony. I understand you now to say that Mr. Caldwell offered to send an affidavit?

Mr. Knott—To send an affidavit if it were required or if it were necessary.

Mr. Blaine—That looked a good deal like a man who was ready to give testimony.

Mr. Knott—It looked to me a good deal in this way: that if I had sent to a man in London, asking him to send over a dispatch exculpating me I would probably make that very suggestion; and if he were an intelligent man, he must have known that an *ex parte* affidavit made in London could not be received as evidence at all.

Mr. Blaine—Do you mean to imply by that that you have any evidence of the slightest character that I have had, directly or indirectly, any communication with Josiah Caldwell?

Mr. Knott—I have never said that you had.

Mr. Blaine—Your intimation just now meant that or it meant nothing.

Mr. Knott—Well, suppose it did?

Mr. Blaine—I want you to state whether you have the slightest evidence of it, although I have heard that you have been rummaging the telegraph offices through the country for such evidence.

Mr. Knott—Then you have heard a lie; that is what you have heard.

Mr. Blaine—I am very glad to hear it is a lie, but I want this to be understood, whether you have the slightest evidence that I have had, in any manner whatever, any communication with Josiah Caldwell.

Mr. Knott—I have no evidence of it, and I never have pretended that I had any.

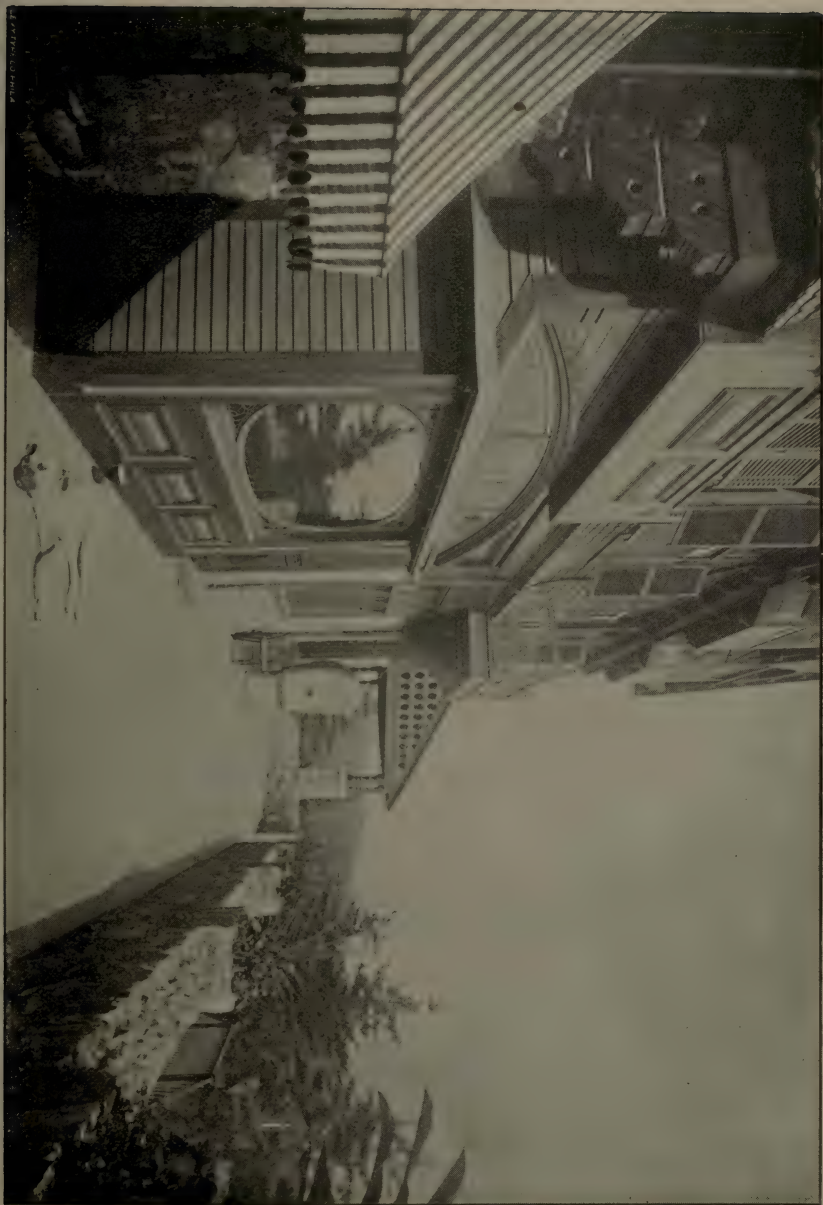
Mr. Hunton—I desire to make a brief statement in regard to the efforts to find Josiah Caldwell. I went to Mr. Knott a day or two after that order of the Judiciary Committee to telegraph to Caldwell was made, and asked him if he had sent the telegram. He said no; that he had not been able to find Caldwell's address. He asked me to assist him, and he authorized me, if I found Caldwell's address, to telegraph to him in his name. From the moment that I went to Mr. Knott to know whether the telegram had been sent, I have been diligently (and I have reason to believe that several other gentlemen, at my instance, have been diligently) employed in seeking to get this information."

After this session the committee met only twice, and then dropped the whole inquiry and abstained from writing out any opinion upon the testimony taken in accordance with the invariable custom of such official inquiries.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SAD CLIMAX TO THE PARTISAN ATTACKS UPON MR. BLAINE.—THE SUNSTROKE AT WASHINGTON AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION.—HOW SUCCESS WAS THERE FINALLY LOST, ONLY THROUGH BAD MANAGEMENT.

THE trials and the excitement of the few days of the close of the Mulligan episode had made an unusual draft upon Mr. Blaine's physical resources. If he had not been an extremely sensitive man, he would have gone through this period with less nervous worry. There is a subtle poison in an atmosphere of depreciation and slander for people of the extremely nervous or sensitive type. General Grant, who was outwardly stolid, a man without apparent feeling, was so cut to the heart by the charges against his honor, made at the time of the colossal failure, in 1880, of Grant & Ward, with which firm he was connected, that he succumbed to the shock and died from its effect as if he had actually received a virulent poison in his veins. The physicians who attended him at that time asserted that the period of depression following the many charges, which were



PORCH OF THE BAR HARBOR COTTAGE.

made against him produced the condition, which led to the development of actual poison, that produced his death.

Mr. Blaine, after the close of the episode of his second explanation, in the House, felt the reaction the moment he returned home. The heat and the depressed condition of the atmosphere further contributed to his physical weakness. During the week which ended on the 10th of June, 1876, he was once or twice in his bed. He got up, against the advice of his physicians, and went again to Proctor Knott's committee-room to present his personal demand for justice. He was not conscious of the strain which he was undergoing. Saturday, June 10th, he felt almost recovered. The Cincinnati Convention was to meet the following week, and he was anxious to avoid even the appearance of illness, because his enemies were disposed to use even that as a weapon against him. The Mulligan episode had no bad effect in the Convention. Mr. Blaine's explanation in the House satisfied Republican opinion. The proof of this is shown by the fact that he polled within one of the full vote that had been credited to him in the previous calculations of the politicians representing the various candidates' interests.

The leading candidates before the Convention when it met were Mr. Blaine, Oliver P. Morton, B. H.

Bristow, Mr. Conkling, Governor Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, and ex-Postmaster-General Jewell, of Connecticut. Two of the candidates represented were Cabinet officers under President Grant. They were afterward retired at General Grant's request. In the opinion of President Grant each had sought to discredit his administration while holding office under it, and he had called for their resignations. Mr. Bristow, who was from Kentucky, combined his forces with those of Governor Morton. Mr. Conkling was also in sympathy with Mr. Morton, and in the end a combination of these interests, under the management of Mr. Conkling, led to Mr. Blaine's defeat. Mr. Jewell, who received only eleven votes on the first ballot, had his name withdrawn in the succeeding ballot.

Mr. Blaine was defeated through lack of good management upon the part of his friends and through the force of unfortunate circumstances. He was then the natural choice of the party. In connection with the office of the President of the United States, Mr. Blaine's life always seemed to be governed by an untoward fate. The Mulligan episode had only stimulated his friends, but just before the Convention met Mr. Blaine was prostrated at Washington by a sunstroke, and so during the opening of the fight his fortunes were clouded by the thought of his

physical weakness, and the fear that he would not regain his strength and ability to conduct the canvass and to administer the office of President.

It was another proof that the unexpected was a factor always to be counted upon in Mr. Blaine's career. The Sunday morning when he was attacked was a very quiet one. Even the politicians at Washington took but little interest in the reports of the gathering of the delegates at Cincinnati, as it seemed then a foregone conclusion that Mr. Blaine would be nominated in some one of the early ballots of the Convention. Even the Democrats conceded this. Mr. Blaine then lived on Fifteenth Street, opposite the house occupied by Hamilton Fish on McPherson Square. He left the house Sunday morning, accompanied by his wife and Miss Abigail Dodge, to attend divine service at the Congregational Church, at the corner of Tenth and G Streets. The distance from his house was about a third of a mile. Mr. Blaine walked. The excessive heat of the morning radiating from the asphalt pavements proved too much for him. When he reached the church he began to complain of the heat, and a moment later fell prostrated by a sunstroke. Mrs. Blaine at once stooped and lifted his head. People who were about entering the church came at once to his assistance, and within the shortest possible time a carriage was

obtained and he was carried to his house. He was placed on the floor in the front drawing-room. Dr. Bliss, who was the first surgeon called to attend General Garfield when he was shot by Guiteau, was the nearest physician. Dr. Pope, a homœopathic physician, was the regular attendant at the Blaine house, but he was not reached until some time later. Mr. Blaine remained unconscious for nearly six hours. The news of his prostration flashed through the Capital with lightning speed. President Grant, who was at Annapolis, sent at once to learn news of his condition, while the wires were burdened between Washington and Cincinnati with the most sensational reports. It was even telegraphed that he was dead. Mr. Blaine, who was attacked late in the morning, gave no sign of consciousness for three hours afterward, and then he simply murmured his wife's name. He gave no further sign until after four o'clock. Then he began to come to, and the physicians were able to state to the family that there was no danger of his death, and that he would speedily recover. There was a crowd around the front of Mr. Blaine's house all of the afternoon, eager and anxious to learn the news of his condition. When the bulletin was first published by the physicians that Mr. Blaine was out of danger the alarmists who had telegraphed to Cincinnati that Mr. Blaine

was dead now sent word that he had had an attack of apoplexy, while others used the authority of Dr. Bliss to report that Mr. Blaine had had an attack of paralysis.

Dr. G. W. Pope, the family physician, authorized the following bulletin as correctly describing the nature of the attack and his condition at the time the bulletin was written—six o'clock in the afternoon of the day of the attack. This bulletin was as follows: "Mr. Blaine's trouble is one of cerebral depression merely, produced by excessive mental strain combined with atmospheric heat. There is no apoplectic condition whatever. He has partly recovered consciousness, and recognizes his family. The pupils of his eyes are natural. He has spoken, and now lies quiet and is disposed to sleep. He has responded well to the treatment employed, and I have every reason to anticipate that in a few days he will be restored to his usual health."

The tide of sympathy with Mr. Blaine had been running in his direction ever since his exposure in the House of the methods of his enemies, and now that he was broken down from the strain of this fight, there was a most universal expression of kindness and good feeling toward him. During the evening of that day Mr. Blaine continued to improve. He slept for nearly twenty-four hours and the following

day his physicians were able to report to the public that he was rapidly recovering. If the President of the United States had been lying seriously and suddenly ill it could not have attracted more attention. Ropes were stretched across the streets at the ends of the block in which Mr. Blaine's house was situated. Outside of this inclosure the carriages of all the notable people in Washington were packed while their owners came on tiptoe to the door to make inquiry. The crowds outside fraternized with the visitors who were permitted entrance to the house, eager for news, and no one of the visitors refused to answer the inquiries of these bystanders. Fortunately, there was a pleasant change in the weather on Monday, so that the physicians, Monday evening, could say that Mr. Blaine himself would probably be able on the following day to write the dispatch describing his condition for the information of his friends at Cincinnati. Tuesday evening the prediction of the physicians was verified. Mr. Blaine was able to sit up, and he wrote the following dispatch to Mr. Hale, who was then in charge of his forces :

“EUGENE HALE:—I am entirely convalescent, suffering only from physical weakness. Impress upon my friends the great depth of gratitude I feel

for the unparalleled steadfastness with which they have adhered to me in my hour of trial.

“J. G. BLAINE.”

This dispatch was posted at all of the political headquarters in Cincinnati, and was the source of great delight and encouragement to the Blaine people. The Convention was to meet the following day, Wednesday. When the Convention came to meet, its organization was controlled by the Blaine adherents. Edward McPherson, of Pennsylvania, who had been the clerk of the House of Representatives for a number of years, was made permanent Chairman. Mr. McPherson possessed a good knowledge of parliamentary law, but he had not the force and individuality requisite to control a great assemblage like a National Convention. He had in his power at one particular time in the Convention to have forced Mr. Blaine's nomination. When the Blaine furore was at its height and was gaining votes from every direction, Mr. McPherson permitted a recess, which gave the opposition, under the able lead of Mr. Conkling, plenty of time and full opportunity to unite every one of the other candidates' strength against Mr. Blaine. This was done with great difficulty, and even then through the fault of Mr. Hale, who overrated Mr. Blaine's strength, and

did not discount enough the possibilities of a prolonged contest.

The Convention was formally organized on Wednesday, the 14th. There was the usual routine work to be performed, which occupied all of that day. It was on Thursday that the nominating speeches were made. It was in this Convention that the excessive cheering and extraordinary demonstrations, now common in such gatherings, favoring the nomination of a particular candidate began. This manner of showing the strength of a candidate followed the nominating speech of Mr. Blaine by Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, of Illinois. This remarkable agnostic orator was then comparatively unknown to the nation, although he was then beginning to make a reputation for himself as an author of a number of clearly-written and strongly-expressed books on free thought. He was a lawyer by profession, whose home was in Peoria, Illinois. He had been the Colonel of an Illinois regiment during the war, and had then, as he has to-day, an extraordinary ability to capture the attention of an audience, to compel it for the moment to think as he does, and to move it to a perfect passion of enthusiasm under the impulse of his imaginative powers and his frank and manly method of going directly to the point of any subject which he presents. He was then in the

neighborhood of forty years of age. No man has ever sprung higher into prominence through the effect of a five minutes' speech than did Colonel Ingersoll. Colonel Ingersoll has a most marked individuality. He is nearly six feet in height, with a broad, powerful frame. His head is very large and round. In the Convention days of 1876, he was already quite bald and gray. His complexion is high. His forehead is very broad, his eyes are blue and deep set. His nose is nearly straight, turning up slightly at the end, while the fine lines of his mouth are unshaded by either mustache or beard. He has a full, rich, penetrating voice, and an easy manner of address. Over his face flits the emotions of his mind in such clear forms of expression that the audience is brought into closer contact with the speaker. In Illinois he had learned the ways and manners of political audiences. He had tried his powers as a political orator in the local campaigns of his State. He felt deeply, and was capable of great enthusiasm. He brought to the support of Mr. Blaine the sincere admiration which he had found in the study of his record. Up to that time Colonel Ingersoll had not been brought into direct personal contact with Mr. Blaine, except upon one or two brief occasions. It was as much the manner of Colonel Ingersoll before the Cincinnati Conven-

tion as the address itself which produced the outbreak of enthusiasm which followed. This speech, the only thing which lives out of the proceedings of that Convention, beyond the formal record of the ballots cast, was as follows :

“MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN:—Massachusetts may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow; so am I; but if any man nominated by this Convention cannot carry the State of Massachusetts I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominee of this Convention cannot carry the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by seventy-five thousand majority I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill that old monument of glory.

“The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876, a man of intelligence, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman; they demand a reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest, broadest, and best sense—a man of superb moral courage. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people; with not only the requirements of the hour, but with the demands of the future. [Applause.]

“They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this Government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this Government. They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States; one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people; one who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar; one who knows enough to know that all the money must be made, not by law, but by labor; one who knows enough to know that all the people of the United States have the industry to make the money, and the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it. [Applause.]

“The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together; that when they come they will come hand in hand through the golden harvest-fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheels; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire, greeted and grasped by the countless sons of toil. This money has to be dug out of the earth. You cannot make it by

passing resolutions in a political convention. [Applause.]

“The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this Government should protect every citizen at home and abroad; who knows that any government that will not defend its defenders and protect its protectors, is a disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement of Church and State. They demand a man whose political reputation is as spotless as a star; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has, in full, heaped and rounded measure, all these splendid qualifications, is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine. [Great applause.]

“Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past, and prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brain beneath her flag—such a man is James G. Blaine. [Applause.]

“For the Republican host, led by this intrepid man, there can be no defeat.

“This is a grand year—a year filled with recol-

lections of the Revolution ; filled with the proud and tender memories of the past ; with the sacred legends of liberty—a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountain of enthusiasm ; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field ; a year in which they call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander—for the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion ; for this man who, like an intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is still a total stranger to defeat. [Applause.]

“Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor. For the Republican party to desert this gallant leader now is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle. [Applause.]

“James G. Blaine is now, and has been for years, the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred, because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

“Gentlemen of the Convention, in the name of the

great Republic, the only Republic that ever existed upon this earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers dead upon the field of battle, and in the name of those who perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers, Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders—James G. Blaine.”

For upward of twenty minutes following the close of this address the audience cheered and applauded. Hats were thrown in the air, handkerchiefs were waved, and for a period the enthusiasm of the audience seemed to partake of madness. The nominating speeches for the other candidates were also loudly applauded, but there was no such scene awakened as that which followed the address of Colonel Ingersoll. He was the great orator of the Convention, and he had undoubtedly the most popular subject. The union of these two elements produced a scene of enthusiasm which has never been equaled in any subsequent mention of Mr. Blaine in any other National Convention.

The taking of the ballots did not come until the following day—Friday. There were seven hundred and fifty-six delegates in the Convention. Three

hundred and seventy-nine votes were necessary to a choice.

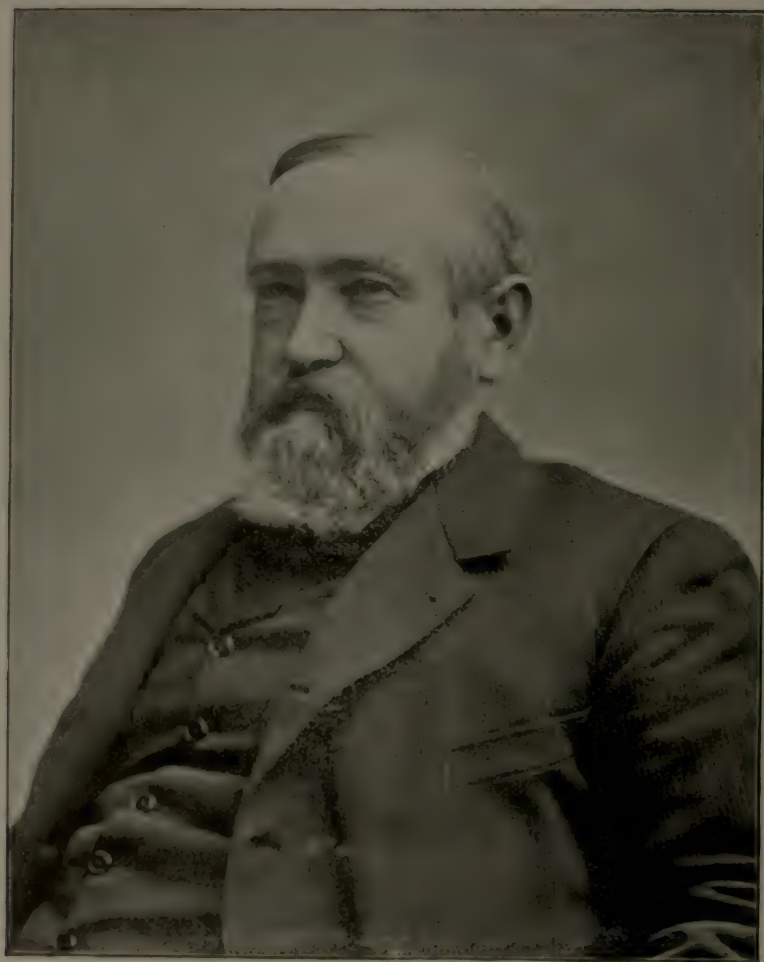
The first ballot did not indicate the strength of the leading candidates, as there were a number of complimentary votes cast which went later to the leaders.

Mr. Blaine had on this ballot two hundred and eighty-five votes; Morton, one hundred and twenty-five; Bristow, one hundred and thirteen; Conkling, ninety-nine; Hayes, sixty-one; Hartranft, fifty-eight; Jewell, eleven, and Wm. A. Wheeler, three.

Mr. Conkling led the opposition to Mr. Blaine. He was active throughout the Convention, went from delegate to delegate, and was ready at any time to throw the votes controlled by himself to any one who could defeat Mr. Blaine. Upon the next ballot Mr. Blaine secured the eleven votes given to Mr. Jewell. Mr. Conkling lost six votes, and Mr. Morton lost five. Mr. Hayes gained three votes.

The third ballot did not show much of any change. Mr. Blaine lost three votes. On the fourth ballot he gained back two of these, so that he was within ninety-one votes of a nomination. Mr. Blaine's friends were standing very firm, and were disposed to stand by him to the very last. The two delegations that controlled the situation were the New York and Pennsylvania ones. New York was un-

der the control of Mr. Conkling. This delegation obeyed his orders as if they were members of a militia company. Mr. Don Cameron, who was afterward to succeed his father as Senator of the United States, was at the head of the Pennsylvania delegation. General John A. Logan was the authority for the statement that Mr. Cameron had visited Mr. Hale the night before, and had pledged to him that the Pennsylvania delegation would come to Mr. Blaine solidly if that State could have in return a pledge that it would have one representative in Mr. Blaine's Cabinet. General Logan said that Mr. Hale refused to make the pledge. He was so confident that he had enough votes without the Pennsylvania delegation, and that Mr. Blaine's popularity would in the end stampede the Convention, that he refused to accept Mr. Cameron's overtures. Thursday Mr. Blaine was reported out and about, so that the stories of his illness no longer counted against him. Pennsylvania was naturally for Mr. Blaine, and that delegation would have gone solidly to him with the slightest encouragement. As it was, the fifth ballot showed a slight falling off for Mr. Blaine, his vote going down to two hundred and eighty-six. Upon the sixth ballot there was a reaction. Twelve votes came back to him from North Carolina, and amid a scene of tremendous excitement the solid



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delegation of Pennsylvania was broken and fourteen of their votes given to Mr. Blaine. It was evident that he was to be nominated on the next ballot, unless his opponents could all unite on some one man. This is where Mr. McPherson failed in his duty as a chairman and friend of Mr. Blaine. Mr. Hale on the floor was pushing for a vote upon the next ballot. Mr. McPherson permitted a respite in the proceedings long enough for the New York and Pennsylvania delegations to withdraw for consultation, where, under the powerful pleadings of Mr. Conkling and the influence of Mr. Cameron, all candidates were withdrawn and the united opposition concentrated upon Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio. When they came back to the Convention, the battle was lost for Mr. Blaine, and Mr. Hayes was nominated on the seventh ballot.

The following table shows the exact fluctuations of the various ballots until Mr. Hayes was selected :

	1st ballot.	2d ballot.	3d ballot.	4th ballot.	5th ballot.	6th ballot.	7th ballot.
Hayes,	61	64	67	68	104	113	384
Blaine,	285	296	293	292	286	308	351
Morton,	125	120	113	108	95	85	—
Bristow,	113	114	121	126	114	111	21
Conkling,	99	93	90	84	82	81	—
Hartranft,	58	63	68	71	69	50	—
Jewell,	11	withdrawn.					
Wm. A. Wheeler,	3	3	2	2	2	2	—
Elihu B. Washburne, . .	—	1	1	3	3	5	—
Whole number of votes, .	754	754	755	754	755	755	756
Necessary to choice, . . .	378	378	378	378	378	378	379

It was a personal triumph for Mr. Conkling. The "Turkey Gobbler," whose strut had been so graphically described by Mr. Blaine in 1866, had now for the first time been able to retaliate and to punish his much-hated adversary. In so doing he practically surrendered his own future chances for the Presidency, because the Republicans throughout the country resented his war upon Mr. Blaine and the means used by him to defeat him at Cincinnati. The Convention was manipulated. If it had been left free from personal influence to make its choice it would have undoubtedly nominated Mr. Blaine on the seventh ballot. Mr. Conkling presented the name of Mr. Hayes as a means of humiliating Mr. Blaine. Mr. Conkling always seemed to have a contempt for Mr. Hayes. He took very little part in the campaign which followed, and when Mr. Hayes was President Mr. Conkling never went near him, always opposed him, and invented the term "feather-head" to describe the President and men of his type.

The afternoon that Mr. Hayes was nominated Mr. Blaine at once sent to him a congratulatory dispatch. Whatever disappointment he may have felt he carefully concealed. Indeed, this was one of his characteristics. He would fight in a contest with all his power, and, when the contest was ended, he invariably accepted the results, when they were against him,

without complaint. He went farther than sending a mere dispatch to show his cheerful acceptance of the situation. He ordered an open carriage within an hour following the finding of the Convention, and calling for Hamilton Fish went driving through the streets of Washington. This carriage took a turn up by Newspaper Row, situated then, as now, in Fourteenth Street, to show to the representatives of the press of the country that Mr. Blaine had fully recovered from the sunstroke and from the disappointment of the Convention. Everywhere he was saluted and cheered. He looked a perfect picture of pluck and gallantry in the hours of his defeat. Mr. Blaine was then only in his forty-seventh year, and his prominence warranted the belief that the Presidency would be within his reach in a not far distant future. This belief was confirmed by the expressions of disappointment throughout the country over his failure to be nominated. Mr. Blaine followed up the spirit of his dispatch to Mr. Hayes by cordially supporting the Republican candidate. He took part in the campaign of that year. Before he left Washington he had been appointed to fill a vacancy in the Senate of the United States. This vacancy was occasioned by the resignation of Lot M. Morrill, who went into the Cabinet of President Grant as Secretary of the Treasury, succeeding Mr. Bristow.

Colonel Ingersoll's speech, which was such a notable feature of the Convention, was constantly printed and quoted from during the campaign. One of its phrases — "the Plumed Knight" — was adopted throughout the country by Mr. Blaine's devoted followers, and was used through every campaign following where his name was mentioned.

Colonel Ingersoll took part in this campaign, and also in the campaign of 1880, when General Garfield was nominated. When it came to the campaign of 1884, when Mr. Blaine was himself the Republican candidate, there was much speculation about Colonel Ingersoll's position.

Early in the campaign he went West, and apparently cut himself off from all connection with active politics. By some this non-participation in the campaign was credited to a loss of faith on the part of Colonel Ingersoll in Mr. Blaine; by others, to personal enmity; while still others credited Colonel Ingersoll with such great devotion to Mr. Blaine that he avoided embarrassing him with his support on account of his being retained as counsel for the people who were being prosecuted at Washington for alleged frauds in the Star Route mail service. Colonel Ingersoll's position with regard to Mr. Blaine since the time of the Cincinnati Convention in 1876, was never generally understood. There was never

any outward positive breaking of friendship between the two men. A few weeks before the Convention at Chicago in June, 1884, Mr. and Mrs. Blaine were entertained by Colonel and Mrs. Ingersoll at their Washington home at an evening reception. General Logan was present at the same reception. Close friends of Colonel Ingersoll said that he had what he considered a real grievance against Mr. Blaine. There was no basis of real importance for this, but it grew out of several trifling acts which did not seem to Colonel Ingersoll as quite courteous. This feeling grew until Colonel Ingersoll felt that he could no longer support Mr. Blaine politically.

The date of the first dissatisfaction went back to the Plumed Knight speech at Cincinnati. Colonel Ingersoll's friends said that Mr. Blaine never made any public acknowledgment of this great effort. This was made particularly noticeable by the fact that later Mr. Blaine was a guest at Colonel Ingersoll's Peoria home, and made a speech to the people of that town from the threshold of the great agnostic's house without making any reference to his host. Colonel Ingersoll sought under two administrations to get some acknowledgment for his services as a campaign orator. He said to Mr. Hayes that he merely wanted the recognition. He would like to be offered the Berlin Mission, and said plainly that

he would not accept any office. Mr. Evarts advised Mr. Hayes not to offer any appointment to Colonel Ingersoll. Mr. Hayes intimated that Colonel Ingersoll's agnosticism made him a political outcast. Colonel Ingersoll was not pleased because Mr. Blaine did not assist him at that time. He was not really offended, but when the Garfield administration came in, controlled by his two personal friends, Garfield and Blaine, the same policy of non-recognition was pursued toward him. Then Colonel Ingersoll, who is a sensitive man, withdrew from politics, and said that he would never take any future part for any person or party.

Soon after the Chicago Convention of 1884 a gentleman prominent in active politics had a talk with Colonel Ingersoll, and asked him what he intended doing in the campaign that year.

"Nothing," said Colonel Ingersoll.

Then the gentleman said to him, "I know you believe in my friendship enough not to feel hurt at what I am going to say. I think your resolution a wise one."

"How is that?" asked Colonel Ingersoll.

"It is simply for this reason," he replied. "You can never be recognized by any administration. I believe about as you do about religious matters, but I recognize the fact that there is a sentiment in this

country that would break any administration or public man that should appoint you to any office of honor or trust. You are simply ahead of your time, and must abide the consequences. I admire you as much as any man, but I should advise against any recognition of you if I had anything to do with any administration. You ought to be clear-headed enough to see this."

Colonel Ingersoll replied that he had no doubt that he was right in what he said.

CHAPTER XIX.

MR. BLAINE'S ELECTION TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE.—ATTEMPT TO USE THE MULLIGAN RECORD RESULTS IN HIS RECEIVING THE UNANIMOUS VOTE OF THE LEGISLATURE, WITHOUT REGARD TO PARTY.—THE DISPUTED ELECTION OF 1876.

THE Legislature that met during the following winter at Augusta ratified Mr. Blaine's appointment by the Governor in electing him for the full term of six years. This election was made under peculiar circumstances. No one would have supposed that the Democratic leaders at Washington would have continued their war upon Mr. Blaine to the extent of sending down agents to try and defeat him before a Legislature controlled by Republicans, who were all friends of Mr. Blaine. Great packages of newspapers, containing perverted testimony and the many scandalous stories of the Little Rock & Fort Smith episode, were sent to Augusta with active agents to distribute them. Copies of the leading New York newspapers, which had opposed Mr. Blaine, were also mailed in great quantities to individual members. The result accomplished was not

what Mr. Blaine's opponents desired. This outside interference was very much resented by the people in the State. This resentment was shared by the Democrats of Maine. So that when the election came to take place, Mr. Blaine received the votes of the members of both parties in the Legislature, and for the first time in the history of the election of a United States Senator, he was chosen by the unanimous vote of the Legislature. It was a flattering verdict, and one which confirmed the impression made throughout the country that Mr. Blaine had been made the victim of malicious misrepresentation. This election was a most gratifying climax to his career in the State of Maine, following, as it did, an unopposed fourteen years of service in the House.

The Senate of the United States is a very conservative body. It prides itself upon its dignity and its decorum. It is rare in that body that stormy scenes occur as they do in the House. It has been the theatre of many partisan debates, but it is the theory of Senatorial life that such debates shall be conducted within the lines of propriety, and that criticisms shall be directed against the public, and never the private acts of Senators. It is not considered in accordance with good taste for a new Senator, however prominent he may have been elsewhere, makes himself conspicuous during the first year or two after

entering the Senate. Mr. Blaine had from the first the antagonism of prominent Republican Senators who were themselves candidates for the office of President of the United States. Mr. Conkling, who was now in the Senate, was one of its most conspicuous members, and was disposed to use every occasion to assert his own power and to oppose Mr. Blaine as he had throughout their joint careers in Congress. In the Senate, where dullness is often translated as decorum, Mr. Blaine's methods were described as sensational. He had not enough respect for traditions, and was capable of deciding for himself without hunting for the precedents to determine his rule of action. Why the Senators should have regarded Mr. Blaine as a sensationalist would be difficult to find through any study of his record.

Upon all public questions he was uniformly conservative, and upon the leading questions of the day he was slightly in advance of his party. He showed in the Senate the same capacity for leadership that he had shown in the House. He met there no warm welcome on account of the peculiar character of the body, but during his five years of service his position as the leader of his party was questioned by few.

During the winter of '76 and '77, when the times were nearly as troubled as during the winter preceding the War of the Rebellion, Mr. Blaine was not

very active in the disputes between the two parties. Mr. Blaine was himself opposed to the electoral tribunal created during that winter. He objected to the forming of any tribunal of an extra-judicial character for the settlement of such disputes. He believed that the machinery of the Government as it was then constituted was sufficient. He, however, took no active part in opposing it, and out of deference to public sentiment voted for the Electoral Commission Bill. He felt that if he had been conspicuous in opposing it, his party loyalty might have been questioned, and that it might have been charged that he was influenced by his personal disappointment at Cincinnati. Mr. Conkling occupied very nearly the same attitude, although he was more outspoken in private. Mr. Conkling, in private, favored the Republicans yielding to the claims of Mr. Tilden. He, however, voted for the Electoral Commission Bill. This Commission, which was proposed by a Southern Democrat, a member of the House, was carried through by the aid of Democratic votes.

The whole winter was occupied with the settlement of the disputed election of 1876. The House was Democratic and the Senate was Republican. The bill was adroitly prepared, to make certain that the findings of the Commission would be final, for it declared that its rulings should not be set aside except

by a joint vote of the two Houses. There was much more interest in the proceedings before the Commission than in the routine affairs of Congress. Mr. Blaine was one of the conspicuous figures in the brilliant and distinguished audience that occupied the restricted quarters of the Supreme Court chamber, where the sessions of the Commission were held. The work of this Commission began on the 31st of January, 1877, the birthday of Mr. Blaine. There were fifteen members on the Commission. There were five representatives from the Senate, five from the House, and five from the Supreme Court bench. The Senate Commission was represented by three Republicans and two Democrats, the House was represented by three Democrats and two Republicans, the Supreme Court by five Justices.

The Democrats, who planned the Commission, expected that two Democrats, Clifford and Field, and two Republicans, Strong and Miller, would be selected from the Justices, and that David Davis, an independent in politics, would be made the fifth Justice. The Democrats believed that his vote would go to Mr. Tilden, and give them the one majority necessary. Justice Davis, unfortunately for their plans, was elected as an independent Senator by the Illinois Legislature before the Commission was appointed, and so Justice Bradley was nominated to take his

place. Each body named its own members. The Senate and the House selections were made in caucuses, while the Justices in committee named their own representatives. The Commission was a most notable body of men. Among its members were General Garfield, a future President of the United States, and two future heads of Cabinets, Messrs. Bayard and Frelinghuysen. Mr. Frelinghuysen was to be Mr. Blaine's successor in the State Department following the assassination of Garfield. The Senate members of this Commission were Messrs. Bayard, Thurman, Edmunds, Oliver P. Morton, and Frelinghuysen; the House members were Messrs. Garfield, H. B. Payne, Eppa Hunton, Josiah G. Abbott, and George F. Hoar; the Justices were Clifford, Miller, Field, Strong, and Bradley.

When the Commission made its first decision in favor of the Republicans there was great excitement and uneasiness throughout the country. The Democrats who had planned to capture the tribunal were now violent in their denunciations. The Southern Democrats, under the leadership of Mr. Lamar, made a compromise with Mr. Charles Foster, representing Mr. Hayes. They said to Mr. Foster, in the famous Wormley Hotel conference at Washington, that the Southern members would ratify the decision of the Electoral Commission, which was now clearly

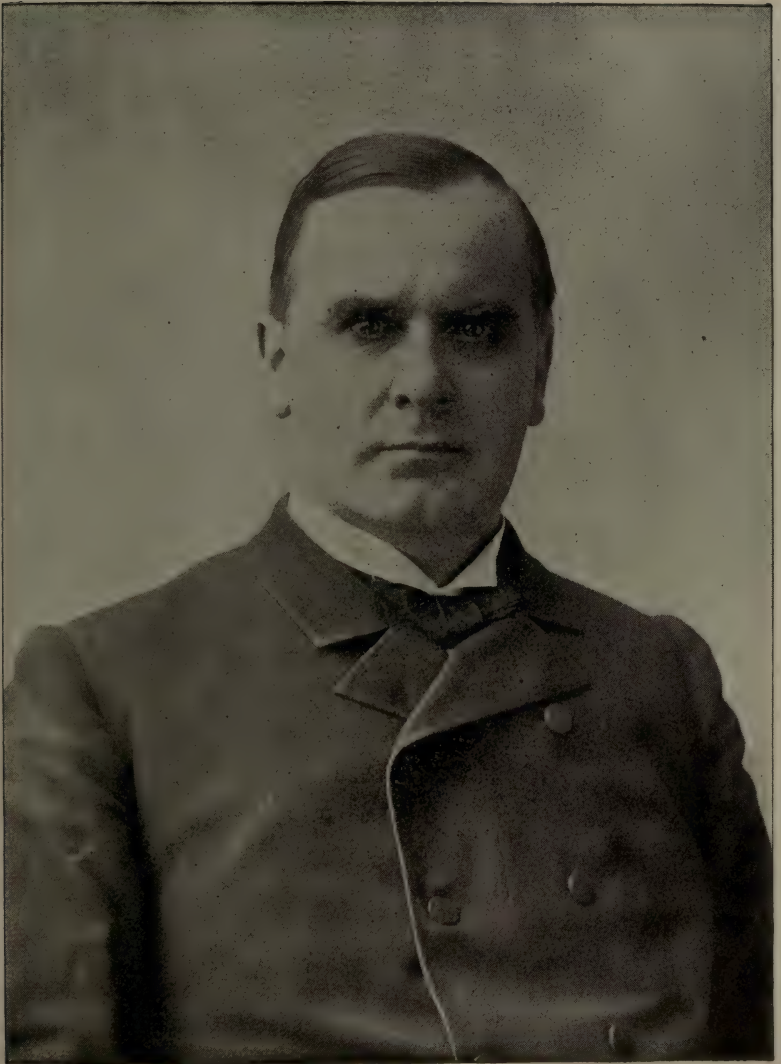
foreshadowed to be in favor of Mr. Hayes, if the new national administration would concede to them the State governments in the three States in dispute, viz., Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina. These were the three last States in the South whose State governments were not wholly under the control of the Democrats. The details of that conference have never been published. But some arrangement was undoubtedly reached, for the reason that the findings of the Electoral Commission were ratified in the House with the aid of Southern votes, and it is a matter of history that the troops were withdrawn afterward from the three States in question, so that the Democratic State governments obtained power in the three States whose electoral votes had been counted for Mr. Hayes. Mr. Blaine never approved of this, and believed that the State governments should have been held.

The Commission finished its work only on the 2d of March, two days before the day fixed for the expiration of the Congress which had the authority to settle this dispute. The Tilden Democrats throughout the North were furious with anger at what they were pleased to call the treachery of their Southern associates. A call was issued by some of the most extreme men to assemble mass-meetings throughout the North to protest and rebel against the findings

of the Commission. Henry Watterson, in Louisville, threatened in his paper to march on Washington with a hundred thousand men to overturn the Government and seat Mr. Tilden. The Southern members took no part in this attempt to foment a new rebellion. They had just secured the control of their own State governments, and they knew that they could obtain, with the aid of the solid South, any share that they might desire in the future ruling of this country, and so they wisely refrained from taking any part in the disturbances threatened at that time, and were content to wait in patience the result of their diplomacy. Mr. Tilden himself counseled moderation and the acceptance of the findings of the Commission. He could have done no less. As a lawyer he could not have presented any argument for the setting aside of the verdict of a lawfully constituted tribunal especially authorized to pass upon the questions in dispute, and from whose decision there could be no appeal except to Congress.

The extreme element in the Democratic party, however, refused to obey Mr. Tilden's counsels. They denounced him as a timid old man, and started out in the House of Representatives to undertake to defeat the count. They began there the same dilatory tactics which were employed by Mr. Randall

when he defeated the "Force Bill" when Mr. Blaine was Speaker. Mr. Randall had been elected to the Speakership to succeed Mr. Kerr, who died during the summer of 1876, in office. Mr. Randall was a man of great courage, strong will, and an unquestioned patriot. The fillibusters thought that they could defeat the count. There was but little over twenty-four hours left to ratify the work of the Commission. Mr. Randall exercised an arbitrary power when he decided to recognize no longer any dilatory motions, and proceeded to put the vote for the approval or disapproval of the finding of the Commission. This he did in the face of wild yells and furious protests, hoots and howls from infuriated partisans in the galleries, while one or two members carried their passion of objection to the extent of jumping on the desks and shouting their protests like madmen. Mr. Randall, a devoted believer in Mr. Tilden, stood firmly to the question, and soon declared by the count of the vote that the findings were ratified. There would have been much greater uneasiness throughout the country pending this attempt to defeat the count had it not been for the fact that General Grant was at the White House, and that he could be relied upon in any event to suppress disorder. President Grant had frequent consultations with General Sherman, and these two



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soldiers were fully prepared to assume any responsibility in the use of the forces of the Government to resist any incipient rebellion. Mr. Hayes, whose life had been threatened by some of the agitators, came quietly to Washington, and went to Senator Sherman's private house. The 4th of March preceding inauguration day was on Sunday. That was the period of the greatest uneasiness. That night Mr. Hayes went to the White House, accompanied by Chief Justice Waite. There he was privately sworn in as President of the United States by the Chief Justice. The witnesses were President Grant, Colonel Frederick D. Grant, and Ulysses S. Grant, Jr. This precaution was taken after a report had been telegraphed from New York that it was Mr. Tilden's intention to take the oath of office before some magistrate in that city. Taking the oath on Sunday evening also anticipated any forcible objection that might be made to the public ceremony on the 5th of March, the day following.

All fears of disturbance appeared to have been groundless. The ceremonies of the inauguration of President Hayes were quiet and with no more outward objection than upon the inauguration of any President. The Senate remained in session for the purpose of considering his appointments, but adjourned within a few weeks without considering more

than the question of approving the leading appointments of the new administration.

In the fall following, the Democratic House had an official investigation into the methods employed by the Republicans in the securing the electoral votes counted for Mr. Hayes in the South. There was the usual amount of disputed testimony taken, and the customary partisan reports prepared afterward, but nothing was developed not already known to the public.

CHAPTER XX.

MR. BLAINE IN THE SENATE.—THE SILVER LEGISLATION OF THE FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—HIS ARGUMENT AGAINST A CHEAP SILVER DOLLAR.

WHEN Mr. Blaine entered the Senate he was accompanied there by four prominent members of the House, Mr. Beck, of Kentucky, Mr. George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, Mr. Benjamin H. Hill, of Georgia, and Mr. Lamar, of Mississippi. Mr. Hill had made additional fame for himself in the South by his arguments against Mr. Blaine during the amnesty debate. When Mr. Blaine was sent to the Senate the South congratulated itself upon the fact that their most stalwart debater would follow him there so as to be ready to meet further onslaughts upon the part of Mr. Blaine directed against the Southern power.

David Davis, who now came to the Senate from Illinois as an independent, occupied a seat on the Democratic side. Mr. Davis was originally an appointment to the Supreme Court bench by Abraham Lincoln. During the War of the Rebellion he was one of Mr. Lincoln's most trusted counsellors.

His physical proportions were massive. At the time he entered the Senate he weighed nearly three hundred pounds. He had a large, strong-featured face, which was smooth shaven with the exception of a thin wisp of whiskers which ran around under his heavy double chin. His habits as a judge followed him to the Senate. He never took part in a debate except to read occasionally an opinion in which he summarized the arguments of both sides and rendered a decision in very much the same style as if he were still a justice. He occupied a very unique position in the Senate, for the reason that within a short time after his arrival there, the political complexion of that body became so balanced that he held the deciding vote, and so the arguments on both sides were addressed to him really as a judge who was to pass upon a case. His honesty and his uprightness placed him entirely above partisanship. It was said of him at the time that he was the only public man who ever succeeded in making so-called political independence respectable. He was later to be appointed presiding officer of the Senate, and when Vice-President Arthur became President toward the close of Senator Davis' term the latter became acting Vice-President.

Samuel J. Kirkwood, who had before served in the Senate, now came back from Iowa. Preston B.

Plumb, who was to become one of the most conspicuous of the Republican Senators, representing large Western business interests, came from Kansas. Mr. McPherson, of New Jersey; Mr. Coke, of Texas; Mr. Harris, of Tennessee, and Wm. Pinkney White, of Maryland, were the notable additions on the Democratic side. In the fall of the same year, Daniel Voorhees, of Indiana, and M. C. Butler, of South Carolina, were further added to the Democratic side. On the Republican side the new men of prominence were Stanley Matthews, of Ohio, who was after to become a justice of the Supreme Court, and J. Donald Cameron, who succeeded his father, Simon Cameron. The latter voluntarily retired after securing the election of his son. This family arrangement was carried out so easily that the second Mr. Cameron was called among his associates the Duke of Pennsylvania.

The Forty-fifth Congress was called together in extra session on the 15th of October, 1877. Samuel J. Randall was re-elected Speaker of the House. Mr. Garfield received the complimentary vote of the Republicans, and became the leader of the House in the place of Mr. Blaine. Mr. Blaine, in his summary of the character of Mr. Garfield, said that the latter was a great parliamentary debater, but that he had too much conscience to become a great parlia-

mentary leader. This is a very friendly way of saying that he had not the requisite force of character to make a good leader, and the moral courage necessary to compel a following. Mr. Blaine himself said that the three most distinguished parliamentary leaders developed in the history of our country were Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. And of these, in his judgment, Mr. Clay was the greatest. Mr. Blaine thought that it would be difficult to find a fourth who could rank with them. Mr. Blaine himself should be classed as the fourth, for he had to a great degree the qualities and the powers possessed by these gentlemen in outlining a positive course, and in compelling a devoted following to that course.

It was in this Congress that Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, a future Speaker, made his first appearance. Mr. Reed was afterward a personal opponent of Mr. Blaine, although he became reconciled to him in the latter days of his life.

The feature of the Forty-fifth Congress was the consideration of silver legislation. An act was passed providing for the coinage of silver dollars, and for the fixed purchase by the Government each month of so much silver. The arguments through the debates were largely directed to the standard to be adopted. The members who previously had in-

clined to greenbackism and to former inflation plans now favored the establishment of a standard between gold, silver, and gold of fifteen to one. This silver bill was vetoed by the President, who said that its provisions practically provided for the payment of the principal and interest of the public debt in silver. This measure was passed over the President's veto.

It was during the debate on this bill that Mr. Blaine delivered a carefully prepared speech. This was the first notable effort in his new position as Senator of the United States. This address shows that Mr. Blaine adhered to the same conservative financial views that he had so frequently expressed in the House. Although every time he made an address in the Senate he was charged with uttering opinions to advance his future presidential interests, he never, in anything he said there, gave warrant for such a supposition. The silver craze was then at its height, and the public man who opposed the silver inflation theories of the far West could not depend upon any support from that section of the country.

Mr. Blaine, in the course of his remarks, said that Congress in his judgment had no more power to demonetize silver than to demonetize gold. He favored the policy of co-operating with foreign nations to secure a uniform standard for silver with gold. He showed that any attempt upon our part to

coin silver at a less ratio than that adopted abroad would result only in bringing here foreign silver to buy our gold. The injustice of making the depreciated silver dollar was forcibly illustrated by Mr. Blaine. He said that to make silver coin even three per cent. less valuable than gold would inflict at once a loss of more than \$20,000,000 on the holders of our paper money. To make a silver dollar worth but ninety-two cents would precipitate on the same class a loss of nearly \$60,000,000. Continuing, he said: "For whatever the value of the silver dollar is the whole paper issue of the country will sink to its standard when its coinage is authorized and its circulation becomes general in the channels of trade. Some one in conversation with Commodore Vanderbilt during one of the many freight competitions of the trunk lines said, 'It cannot be that the Canadian Railroad has sufficient carrying capacity to compete with your great line?' — 'That is true,' replied the Commodore, 'but they can fix a rate and force us down to it.' Were Congress to pass a law to-day declaring that every legal-tender note and every national-bank note shall hereafter pass for only ninety-six or ninety-seven cents on the dollar, there is not a constituency in the United States that would re-elect a man who supported it, and in many districts the Representative

would be lucky if he escaped merely with a defeat at the polls.

“ Yet it is almost mathematically demonstrable that the same effect will follow from the coinage of an inferior silver dollar. Assurances from empirics and scientists in finance that remonetization of the former dollar will at once and permanently advance its value to par with gold, are worth little in the face of opposing and controlling facts. The first effect of issuing any silver dollar that will pay customs dues and interest on the public debt will undoubtedly be to raise it to a practical equality with gold; but that condition will last only until the amount needful for customs shall fill the channels of its use; and the overflow going into general circulation will rapidly settle to its normal and actual value, and then the discount will come on the volume of the paper currency, which will sink, *pari passu*, with the silver dollar in which it is made redeemable. That remonetization will have a considerable effect in advancing the value of the silver dollar is very probable, but not enough to overcome the difference now existing—a difference resulting from causes independent of our control in the United States.

“ The responsibility of re-establishing silver in its ancient and honorable place as money in Europe and America, devolves really upon the Congress of

the United States. If we act here with wisdom and firmness, we shall not only successfully remonetize silver, and bring it into general use as money in our own country, but the influence of our example will be potential among European nations, with the possible exception of England. Indeed, our annual indebtedment to Europe is so great that, if we have the right to pay it in silver, we necessarily coerce those nations, by the strongest of all forces, self-interest, to aid us in upholding the value of silver as money. But if we attempt the remonetization on a basis which is obviously below the fair standard of value as it now exists, we incur all the evil consequences of failure at home, and the certainty of successful opposition abroad. We are, and shall be, the greatest producers of silver in the world, and we have a larger stake in its complete monetization than any other country. The difference to the United States, between the general acceptance and the general destruction of silver as money, in the commercial world, will possibly within the next half-century equal the entire bonded debt of the Nation. But, to gain this advantage, we must make it actual money, the accepted equal of gold in the markets of the world. Remonetization here, followed by general remonetization in Europe, will secure to the United States the most stable basis for its currency that we

have ever enjoyed, and will effectually aid in solving all the problems by which our financial situation is surrounded.

“On the much-vexed and long-mooted question of a bi-metallic or mono-metallic standard, my own views are sufficiently indicated in the remarks I have made. I believe the struggle now going on in this country, and in other countries, for a single gold standard, would, if successful, produce disaster in the end throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money, and the establishment of gold as the sole unit of value, must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate, and, therefore, unfair advantage over every other species of property. If, as the most reliable statistics affirm, there are nearly seven thousand millions of coin or bullion in the world, not very unequally divided between gold and silver, it is impossible to strike silver out of existence as money without results which will prove distressing to millions, and utterly disastrous to tens of thousands. Alexander Hamilton, in his able and invaluable report in 1791 on the establishment of a mint, declared that ‘to annihilate the use of either gold or silver as money

is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full circulation with the evils of a scanty circulation.' I take no risk in saying that the benefits of a full circulation, and the evils of a scanty circulation, are both immeasurably greater to-day than they were when Mr. Hamilton uttered these weighty words, always provided that the circulation is one of actual money, and not of depreciated 'promises to pay.'

"In the report from which I have already quoted, Mr. Hamilton argues at length in favor of a double standard, and all the subsequent experience of ninety years has brought out no clearer statement of the case, or developed a more complete comprehension of this subtle and difficult subject. 'On the whole,' says Mr. Hamilton, 'it seems most advisable not to attach the unit exclusively to either of the metals, because this cannot be done effectually without destroying the office and character of one of them as money, and reducing it to the situation of mere merchandise.' Mr. Hamilton wisely concludes that this reduction of either of the metals to mere merchandise (I again quote his exact words) 'would probably be a greater evil than occasional variations in the unit from the fluctuations in the relative value of the metals, especially if care be taken to regulate the

proportion between them, with an eye to their average commercial value.' I do not think that this country, holding so vast a proportion of the world's supply of silver in its mountains and its mines, can afford to reduce the metal to the 'situation of mere merchandise.' If silver ceases to be used as money in Europe and America, the mines of the Pacific slope will be closed and dead. Mining enterprises of the gigantic scale existing in this country cannot be carried on to provide backs for mirrors, and to manufacture cream-pitchers and sugar-bowls. A source of incalculable wealth to this entire country is destroyed the moment silver is permanently disused as money. It is for us to check that tendency, and bring the continent of Europe back to the full recognition of the value of the metal as a medium of exchange.

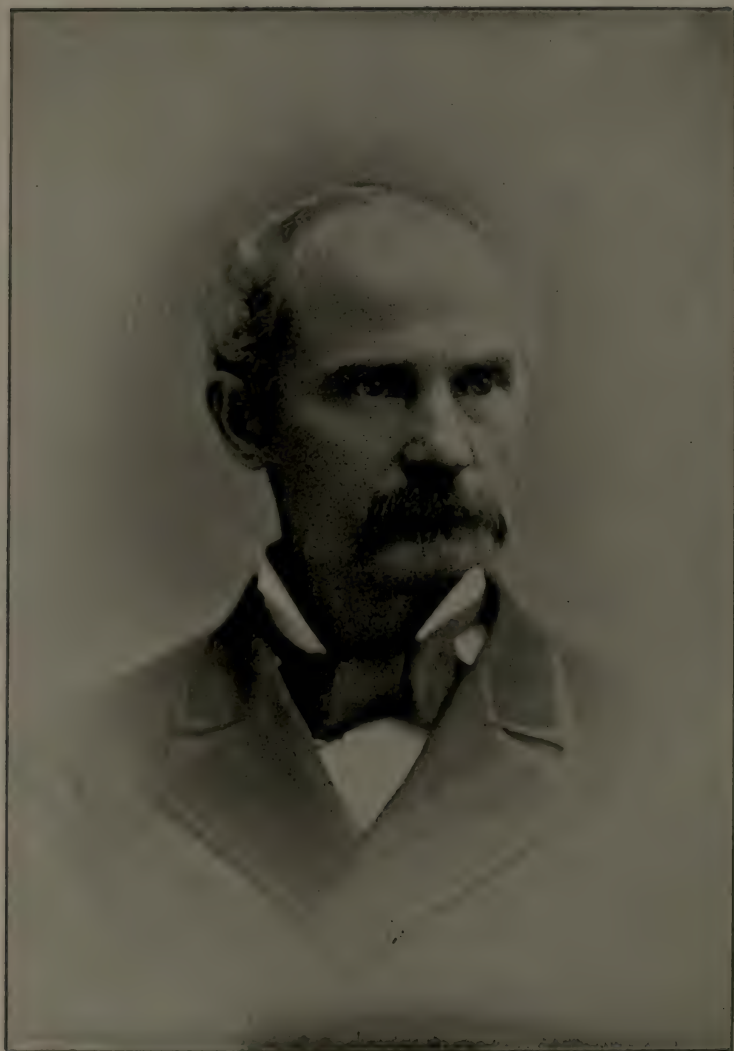
"The question of beginning anew the coinage of silver dollars has aroused much discussion as to its effect on the public credit. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. Matthews] placed this phase of the subject in the very forefront of the debate—insisting, prematurely and illogically, I think, on a sort of judicial construction in advance, by concurrent resolution, of a certain law in case that law should happen to be passed by Congress. My own view on this question can be stated very briefly. I

believe the public creditor can afford to be paid in any silver dollar that the United States can afford to coin and circulate. We have forty thousand millions of property in this country, and a wise self-interest will not permit us to overturn its relations by seeking for an inferior dollar wherewith to settle the honest demands of any creditor. The question might be different from a merely selfish point of view if, on paying the dollar to the public creditor, it would disappear after performing that function. But the trouble is that the inferior dollar you pay the public creditor remains in circulation, to the exclusion of the better dollar. That which you pay at home will stay here; that which you send abroad will come back. The interest of the public creditor is indissolubly bound up with the interest of the whole people. Whatever affects him affects us all; and the evil that we might inflict upon him by paying an inferior dollar would recoil upon us with a vengeance as manifold as the aggregate wealth of the Republic transcends the comparatively small limits of our bonded debt. Remember that our aggregate wealth is always increasing, and our bonded debt steadily growing less! If paid in a good silver dollar, the bondholder has nothing to complain of. If paid in an inferior silver dollar, he has the same grievance that will be uttered still more plaintively by the

holder of the legal-tender note and of the national-bank bill, by the pensioner, by the day laborer, and by the countless host of the poor, whom we have with us always, and on whom the most distressing effect of inferior money will be ultimately precipitated.

“But I must say, Mr. President, that the specific demand for the payment of our bonds in gold coin, and in nothing else, comes with an ill grace from certain quarters. European criticism is leveled against us, and hard names are hurled at us across the ocean, for simply daring to state that the letter of our law declares the bonds to be payable in standard coin of July 14th, 1870; explicitly declared so, and declared so in the interest of the public creditor, and the declaration inserted in the very body of the eight hundred millions of bonds that have been issued since that date. Beyond all doubt, the silver dollar was included in the standard coins of that public act. Payment at that time would have been as acceptable and as undisputed in silver as in gold dollars, for both were equally valuable in the European as well as in the American market. Seven-eighths of all our bonds, owned out of the country, are held in Germany and in Holland. Germany has demonetized silver, and Holland has been forced thereby to suspend its coin-

age, since the subjects of both powers purchased our securities. The German Empire, the very year after we made our specific declaration for paying our bonds in coin, passed a law destroying, so far as lay in its power, the value of silver as money. I do not say that it was specially aimed at this country, but it was passed regardless of its effect upon us, and was followed, according to public and undenied statement, by a large investment on the part of the German Government in our bonds, with a view, it was understood, of holding them as a coin reserve for drawing gold from us to aid in establishing their new gold standard at home. Thus, by one move the German Government destroyed, so far as lay in its power, the then existing value of silver as money, enhanced consequently the value of gold, and then got into position to draw gold from us at the moment of their need, which would also be the moment of our own sorest distress. I do not say that the German Government, in these successive steps, did a single thing which it had not a perfect right to do, but I do say that the subjects of that Empire have no reason to complain of our Government for the initial step which has impaired the value of one of our standard coins. The German Government, by joining with us in the remonetization of silver, can place that standard coin in its old position, and make it as easy



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for this Government to pay and as profitable for their subjects to receive the one metal as the other.

“When we pledged the public creditor in 1870 that our obligations should be paid in the standard coin of that date, silver bullion was worth in the London market a fraction over sixty pence per ounce; its average for the past eight months has been about fifty-four pence; the price reckoned in gold in both cases. But the large difference is due in part to the rise of gold as well as to the fall of silver. Allowing for both causes and dividing the difference, it will be found, in the judgment of many of the wisest men in this country, perfectly safe to issue a dollar of four hundred and twenty-five grains standard silver; as one that, anticipating the full and legitimate influence of remonetization, will equate itself with the gold dollar, and effectually guard against the drain of our gold during the time necessary for international conference in regard to the general re-establishment of silver as money. When that general re-establishment shall be effected with a coinage of fewer grains, the dollar which I am now advocating will not cause loss or embarrassment to any one. The miner of the ore, the owner of the bullion, the holder of the coin, and the Government that issues it will all in turn be benefited. It will yield a profit on recoinage and will be advantageously

employed in our commercial relations with foreign countries. Meanwhile it will insure to our laborers at home a full dollar's pay for a dollar's worth of work.

"I think we owe this to the American laborer. Ever since we demonetized the old dollar we have been running our mints at full speed, coining a new silver dollar for the use of the Chinese cooly and the Indian pariah—a dollar containing four hundred and twenty grains of standard silver, with its superiority over our ancient dollar ostentatiously engraved on its reverse side. To these 'outside barbarians' we send this superior dollar, bearing all our national emblems, our patriotic devices, our pious inscriptions, our goddess of liberty, our defiant eagle, our federal unity, our trust in God. This dollar contains seven and one-half grains more silver than the famous 'dollar of the fathers,' proposed to be recoined by the pending bill, and more than four times as many of these new dollars have already been coined as ever were coined of all other silver dollars in the United States. In the exceptional and abnormal condition of the silver market now existing throughout the world we have felt compelled to increase the weight of the dollar with which we carry on trade with the heathen nations of Asia. Shall we do less for the American laborer at home? Nay,

shall we not do a little better and a little more for those of our own blood and our own fireside? If you remonetize the dollar of the fathers your mints will be at once put to work on two different dollars—different in weight, different in value, different in prestige, different in their reputation and currency throughout the commercial world. It will read strangely in history that the weightier and more valuable of these dollars is made for an ignorant class of heathen laborers in China and India, and that the lighter and less valuable is made for the intelligent and educated laboring man, who is a citizen of the United States. Charity, the adage says, begins at home. Charity, the independent American laborer scorns to ask, but he has the right to demand that justice should begin at home. In his name, and in the name of common sense and common honesty, I ask that the American Congress will not force upon the American laborer an inferior dollar which the naked and famishing laborers of India and China refuse to accept.

“The bill which I now offer as a substitute for the House bill contains three very simple provisions :

“1. That the dollar shall contain four hundred and twenty-five grains of standard silver, shall have unlimited coinage, and be an unlimited legal tender.

“2. That all the profits of coinage shall go to the

Government, and not to the operator in silver bullion.

“3. That silver dollars or silver bullion, assayed and mint-stamped, may be deposited with the Assistant Treasurer at New York, for which coin certificates may be issued, the same in denomination as United States notes, not below ten dollars, and that those shall be redeemable on demand in coin or bullion. We shall thus secure a paper circulation based on an actual deposit of precious metal, giving us notes as valuable as those of the Bank of England and doing away at once with the dreaded inconvenience of silver on account of bulk and weight.

“I do not fail, Mr. President, to recognize that the committals and avowals of Senators on this question preclude the hope of my substitute being adopted. I do not indeed fail to recognize that on this question I am not in line with either extreme—with those who believe in the single gold standard or with these who by premature and unwise action, as I must regard it, would force us to the single silver standard. Either will be found, in my judgment, a great misfortune to our country. We need both gold and silver, and we can have both only by making each the equal of the other. It would not be difficult to show that, in the nations where both have been fully recognized and

most widely diffused, the steadiest and most continuous prosperity has been enjoyed—that true form of prosperity which reaches all classes, but which begins with the day-laborer whose toil lays the foundation of the whole superstructure of wealth. The exclusively gold nation, like England, may show the most massive fortunes in the ruling classes, but it shows also the most helpless and hopeless poverty in the humbler walks of life. The gold and silver nation, like France, can exhibit no such individual fortunes as abound in a gold nation like England, but it has a peasantry whose silver savings can pay a war indemnity that would have beggared the gold bankers of London, and to which the peasantry of England could not have contributed a pound sterling in gold or even a shilling in silver.

“The effect of paying the labor of this country in silver coin of full value, as compared with irredeemable paper—or as compared, even, with silver of inferior value—will make itself felt in a single generation to the extent of tens of millions—perhaps hundreds of millions—in the aggregate savings which represent consolidated capital. It is the instinct of man from the savage to the scholar—developed in childhood and remaining with age—to value the metals which in all lands are counted ‘precious.’ Excessive paper money leads to extravagance, to

waste, to want, as we painfully witness to-day. With abounding proof of its demoralizing and destructive effect, we hear it proclaimed in the halls of Congress that 'the people demand cheap money.' I deny it. I declare such a phrase to be a total misapprehension — a total misinterpretation of the popular wish. The people do not demand cheap money. They demand an abundance of good money, which is an entirely different thing. They do not want a single gold standard that will exclude silver and benefit those already rich. They do not want an inferior silver standard that will drive out gold and not help those already poor. They want both metals, in full value, in equal honor, in whatever abundance the bountiful earth will yield them to the searching eye of science and to the hard hand of labor.

"The two metals have existed side by side in harmonious, honorable companionship as money ever since intelligent trade was known among men. It is well-nigh forty centuries since 'Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant.' Since that time nations have risen and fallen, races have disappeared, dialects and languages have been forgotten, arts have been lost, treasures have per-

ished, continents have been discovered, islands have been sunk in the sea, and through all these ages and through all these changes, silver and gold have reigned supreme as the representatives of value—as the media of exchange. The dethronement of each has been attempted in turn, and sometimes the dethronement of both; but always in vain! And we are here to-day, deliberating anew over the problem which comes down to us from Abraham's time—*the weight of the silver* that shall be 'current money with the merchant.' ”

It was during this same session of the Senate that Mr. Blaine made another speech which attracted great attention from the Southern Senators. It was the first address made by Mr. Blaine which they could approve. The subject was trade with South America, and in this talk Mr. Blaine outlined a part of his future South American policy. He advocated then the payment of subsidies to American lines of steamships running between our ports and the ports south of us. He argued that this was the only way through which commercial relations could be quickly and speedily established. The great trade of South America went to Europe instead of coming to us, because the foreign governments, such as England, France, and Germany had established lines of swift, well-equipped, modern steamships which made the

markets of Europe much more accessible and desirable than the American market.

These steamship lines were protected by subsidies, and no American line could compete with them without similar subsidies. It was only a variation of the protection principle applied to our commerce on the high seas. Foreign bounties to foreign lines had driven American ships from the seas, hence the necessity for the recasting of our policy. This proposition, however, did not become successful until the Harrison administration came into power.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE LIST OF SENATORIAL CANDIDATES FOR THE
PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION OF 1880.—ANTAGO-
NISM AMONG REPUBLICAN LEADERS.—MR.
BLAINE'S SUMMARY OF THE SOUTHERN POLITICAL
SITUATION.

DURING the four years of Mr. Hayes's administration the Senate was said to contain more Presidential candidates than ever before in its history. It was generally conceded that Mr. Hayes would not be presented for renomination. He had himself declared in favor of one term for a President. Senators mentioned prominently in connection with the future Presidential nomination were Mr. Blaine, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Windom, and Mr. Conkling, on the Republican side, while on the Democratic side Mr. Bayard, Mr. Thurman, and Mr. Voorhees were conspicuous Democratic candidates. The debates, therefore, in which these gentlemen participated were subjects of profound interest and attention.

It is rare that a candidate for the Presidency expresses himself freely upon all the pending issues of

the day. It is a rule of such candidates to avoid expressions of opinion, when possible, up to the time when some official declaration is necessary. In the shifting currents of public opinion there are such changes that the average candidate wishes to have every possible advantage. There was nothing in Mr. Blaine's course in the Senate to indicate that he was a candidate. He did not hesitate to express himself in clear and unequivocal terms upon the current issues of the day. He was still determined in his opposition to the over-representation of the South in Congress.

On the 11th of December, 1878, Mr. Blaine took occasion to make a very formal declaration of opinion upon this subject. In it he presented the issue which the Republican party should maintain if it wished to have the confidence of the country.

It was reported about Washington that Mr. Blaine was going to make a sensational speech. It was believed that there would be a repetition of the scene of the amnesty debate. The Democratic newspapers said that Mr. Blaine was to formally pose as a Presidential candidate, and so Mr. Thurman was selected as the representative of the party to first reply to Mr. Blaine. The occasion was one of the most notable ones during Mr. Blaine's term in the Senate. The Democrats were then in control of the House,

and within one vote of controlling the Senate. The personal dissensions between the leaders of the Republican party had led to this. Further, Democratic majorities were predicted everywhere. The Forty-sixth Congress, which had already been elected during the summer of '78, had a clear and positive Democratic majority in both branches. Ex-President Grant was then on his way around the world, with the general understanding that he would arrive home in time to be a candidate again; so it was natural that great interest should be felt in Mr. Blaine's presentation of the issues of the day, as it was practically understood to be the platform upon which he would ask for the support of the Republican party in the coming Presidential campaign. The audience which assembled to hear him was a notable one. The diplomatic gallery was filled with the leading representatives of foreign nations, while the other galleries were filled with the many elements representing the brightest and best of Washington society. The audience, so far as any scene was concerned, was disappointed. Mr. Blaine, instead of making a long speech, made a very brief one. His address was in his best vein, as usual, clear, business-like, and direct. It was read from printed manuscript. His clear, vibrating tones made his every word plain to all. It was only toward the last that

he used anything like declamation. He then came forward impulsively dropping his printed page, and addressed his warning to the South. Then his cool, deliberate utterance was changed. The vigorous personality of the speaker came to the surface. There was a ringing note in his voice and a rush of feeling in his manner which sent a sharp thrill through the audience. His climax was followed by an outburst of applause which called forth a stern rebuke from Mr. Edmunds, of Vermont, who asked that the Sergeant-at-arms of the Senate be requested to arrest any one violating the Senate rules with manifestations of approval. Mr. Conkling took no part in the debate of this day, but assumed the manner of indifference which he always wore when Mr. Blaine was speaking. He wrote letters with labored care all through the discourse and never once raised his head. The conspicuous Southern Senators who followed every word of Mr. Blaine's utterance were Messrs. Gordon, Lamar, and M. C. Butler. Mr. Blaine's speech was based on a resolution of inquiry which he had introduced directing the Judiciary Committee to investigate whether the rights of suffrage had been abridged in any way by intimidation, fraud, or otherwise in any part of the United States, in violation of the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution,

He spoke first of current report as found in the newspapers which had suggested to him the necessity for the inquiry. First these reports in the press of the county pictured South Carolina as holding, during the last election, a series of skirmishes where the polling places were regarded as forts to be captured.

Mr. Blaine then went on with great deliberation to say :

“But we do not need investigation to establish certain facts already of official record. We know that one hundred and six Representatives in Congress were recently chosen in the States formerly slave-holding, and that the Democrats elected one hundred and one, or possibly one hundred and two, and the Republicans four, or possibly five. We know that thirty-five of these Representatives were assigned to the Southern States by reason of the colored population, and that the entire political power thus founded on the numbers of the colored people has been seized and appropriated to the aggrandizement of its own strength by the Democratic party of the South.

“The issue thus raised before the country, Mr. President, is not one of mere sentiment for the rights of the negro—though far distant be the day when the rights of any American citizen, however black or however poor, shall form the mere dust of the bal-

ance of any controversy. Nor is the issue one that involves the waving of the 'bloody shirt,' to quote the elegant vernacular of Democratic vituperation; nor still further is the issue as now presented only a question of the equality of the black voter of the South with the white voter of the South. The issue, Mr. President, has taken a far wider range, one indeed of portentous magnitude; viz., whether the white voter of the North shall be equal to the white voter of the South in shaping the policy and fixing the destiny of this country; or whether, to state it more baldly, the white man who fought in the ranks of the Union army shall have as weighty and influential a vote in the Government of the Republic as the white man who fought in the ranks of the rebel army. The one fought to uphold, the other to destroy the Union of the States, and to-day he who fought to destroy is a far more important factor in the Government of the nation than he who fought to uphold.

"Let me illustrate my meaning by comparing groups of States of the same representative strength North and South. The States of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana send seventeen Representatives to Congress. Their aggregate population is composed of one million and thirty-five thousand whites, and one million two hundred and twenty-four thou-

sand colored, the colored being nearly two hundred thousand in excess of the whites. Of the seventeen Representatives, it is evident that nine were apportioned to these States by reason of their colored population, and only eight by reason of their white population; and yet, in the choice of the entire seventeen Representatives, the colored voters had no more voice or power than their remote kindred on the shores of Senegambia or on the coast of Guinea. The one million and thirty-five thousand white people had the sole and absolute choice of the entire seventeen Representatives. In contrast, two States in the North, Iowa and Wisconsin, with seventeen Representatives, have a white population of two million two hundred and forty-seven thousand, considerably more than double the entire white population of the three Southern States I have named. In Iowa and Wisconsin, therefore, it takes one hundred and thirty-two thousand white population to send a Representative to Congress, but in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana every sixty thousand white people send a Representative. In other words, sixty thousand white people in those Southern States have precisely the same political power in the Government of the country that one hundred and thirty-two thousand white people have in Iowa and Wisconsin.

“Take another group of seventeen Representatives

from the South and from the North. Georgia and Alabama have a white population of eleven hundred and fifty-eight thousand, and a colored population of ten hundred and twenty thousand. They send seventeen Representatives to Congress, of whom nine were apportioned on account of the white population and eight on account of the colored population. But the colored voters are not able to choose a single Representative, the white Democrats choosing the whole seventeen. The four Northern States, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, and California, have seventeen Representatives, based on a white population of two and a quarter millions, or almost double the white population of Georgia and Alabama, so that in these relative groups of States we find the white man in the South exercising by his vote double the political power of the white man in the North.

“Let us carry the comparison to a more comprehensive generalization. The eleven States that formed the Confederate Government had by the last census a population of nine and a half millions, of which, in round numbers, five and a half millions were white and four millions colored. On this aggregate population seventy-three Representatives in Congress were apportioned to those States, forty-two or three of which were by reason of the white population and thirty or thirty-one by reason of the colored popula-



HON. CHAS. EMORY SMITH
(Ex-Minister to Russia.)

tion. At the recent election the white Democracy of the South seized seventy of the seventy-three districts, and thus secured a Democratic majority in the next House of Representatives. Thus it appears that throughout the States which formed the late Confederate Government sixty-five thousand whites—the very people that rebelled against the Union—are enabled to elect a Representative in Congress, while in the loyal States it requires one hundred and thirty-two thousand of the white people that fought for the Union to elect a Representative. In levying every tax, therefore, in making every appropriation of money, in fixing every line of public policy, in decreeing what shall be the fate and fortune of the Republic, the Confederate soldier South is enabled to cast a vote that is twice as influential and twice as powerful as the vote of the Union soldier North.

“But the white men of the South did not acquire and do not hold this superior power by reason of law or justice, but in disregard and defiance of both. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was expected to be and was designed to be a preventive and corrective of all such possible abuses. The reading of the clause applicable to the case is instructive and suggestive. Hear it :

“Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the

whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.'

"The patent, undeniable intent of this provision was that if any class of voters should be denied or in any way abridged in the right of suffrage, then the class so denied or abridged should not be counted in the basis of representation; or, in other words, that no State or States should gain a large increase of representation in Congress by reason of counting any class of population not permitted to take part in electing such Representatives. But the construction given to this provision is that before any forfeiture of representation can be enforced, the denial or abridgment of suffrage must be the result of a law specifically enacted by the State. Under this construction every negro voter may have his suffrage absolutely denied or fatally abridged by the violence, actual or threatened, of irresponsible mobs, or by frauds and deceptions of State officers from the Governor down to the

last election clerk, and then, unless some State law can be shown that authorizes the denial or abridgment, the State escapes all penalty or peril of reduced representation. This construction may be upheld by the courts, ruling on the letter of the law, 'which killeth,' but the spirit of justice cries aloud against the evasive and atrocious conclusion that deals out oppression to the innocent and shields the guilty from the legitimate consequences of willful transgression.

"The colored citizen is thus most unhappily situated; his right of suffrage is but a hollow mockery; it holds to his ear the word of promise, but breaks it always to his hope, and he ends only in being made the unwilling instrument of increasing the political strength of that party from which he suffered ever-tightening fetters when he was a slave and contemptuous refusal of civil rights since he was made free. He resembles, indeed, those unhappy captives in the East, who, deprived of their birthright, are compelled to yield their strength to the aggrandizement of the monarch from whose tyrannies they have most to fear, and to fight against the power from which alone deliverance might be expected. The franchise intended for the shield and defense of the negro has been turned against him and against his friends, and has vastly increased the power of those from whom he has nothing to hope and everything to dread.

“The political strength thus unjustly seized by Southern Democrats by reason of the negro population is equal to thirty-five Representatives in Congress. It is massed almost solidly and offsets the great State of New York; or Pennsylvania and New Jersey together; or the whole of New England; or Ohio and Indiana united; or the combined strength of Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, California, Nevada, Nebraska, Colorado, and Oregon. The seizure of this power is wanton usurpation; it is flagrant outrage; it is violent perversion of the whole theory of Republican government. It inures solely to the apparent advantage and yet, I believe, to the permanent dishonor of the Democratic party. It is by reason of this trampling down of human rights, this ruthless seizure of unlawful power, that the Democratic party holds the popular branch of Congress to-day and will in less than ninety days have control of this body also, thus grasping the entire legislative department of the Government through the unlawful capture of the Southern States. If the proscribed vote of the South were cast as its lawful owners desire, the Democratic party could not gain control. Nay, if the ballot of the colored man were not counted on the other side, against the instincts and the interests, against the principles and the prejudices of its lawful owners, Democratic success would be

hopeless. It is not enough, then, for modern Democratic tactics that the negro vote shall be silenced; the demand goes farther and insists that it shall be counted on the Democratic side, that all the Representatives in Congress, and all the Presidential electors apportioned by reason of the negro vote shall be so cast and so controlled as to insure Democratic success—regardless of justice, in defiance of law.

“This great wrong is wholly unprovoked. I doubt if it be in the power of the most searching investigation to show that in any Southern State during the period of Republican control any legal voter was ever debarred from the freest exercise of his suffrage. Even the revenges which would have leaped into life with many who despised the negro were buried out of sight with a magnanimity which the ‘superior race’ fail to follow and seem reluctant to recognize. I know it is said, in reply to such charges against the Southern elections as I am now reviewing, that unfairness of equal gravity prevails in Northern elections. I hear it in many quarters, and read it in the papers, that in the late exciting election in Massachusetts intimidation and bulldozing, if not so rough and rancorous as in the South, were yet as widespread and effective.

“I have read, and yet I refuse to believe, that the

distinguished gentleman who made an energetic but unsuccessful canvass for the Governorship of that State has indorsed and approved these charges, and I have accordingly made my resolution broad enough to include their thorough investigation. I am not demanding fair elections in the South without demanding fair elections in the North also. But, venturing to speak for the New England States, of whose laws and customs I know something, I dare assert that in the late election in Massachusetts, or any of her neighboring Commonwealths, it will be impossible to find even one case where a voter was driven from the polls; where a voter did not have the fullest, fairest, freest opportunity to cast the ballot of his choice, and have it honestly and faithfully counted in the returns. Suffrage on this continent was first made universal in New England, and in the administration of their affairs her people have found no other appeal necessary than that which is addressed to their honesty of conviction, and to their intelligent self-interest. If there be anything different to disclose I pray you show it to us that we may amend our ways.

“But whenever a feeble protest is made against such injustice as I have described in the South the response we receive comes to us in the form of a taunt—‘What are you going to do about it?’ and

‘How do you propose to help yourselves?’ This is the stereotyped answer of defiance which intrenched wrong always gives to inquiring justice. Those who imagine it to be conclusive do not know the temper of the American people. For let me assure you that against the complicated outrage upon the right of representation lately triumphant in the South there will be arrayed many phases of public opinion in the North not often hitherto in harmony. Men who have cared little, and affected to care less, for the rights or the wrongs of the negro suddenly find that vast monetary and commercial interests, great questions of revenue, adjustments of tariff, investments in manufactures, in railways, and in mines, are under the control of a Democratic Congress whose majority was obtained by depriving the negro of his rights under a common Constitution and common laws. Men who have expressed disgust with the waving of bloody shirts, and have been offended with talk about negro equality, are beginning to perceive that the question of to-day relates more pressingly to the equality of white men under this Government, and that, however careless they may be about the rights or the wrongs of the negro, they are jealous and tenacious about the rights of their own race and the dignity of their own firesides and their own kindred.

“I know something of public opinion in the North. I know a great deal about the views, wishes, and purposes of the Republican party of the Nation. Within that entire great organization there is not one man, whose opinion is entitled to be quoted, that does not desire peace and harmony and friendship and a patriotic and fraternal union between the North and the South. This wish is spontaneous and universal throughout the Northern States; and yet, among men of character and sense, there is surely no need of attempting to deceive ourselves as to the precise truth. First pure, then peaceable. Gush will not remove a grievance, and no disguise of State rights will close the eyes of our people to the necessity of correcting a great National wrong. Nor should the South make the fatal mistake of concluding that injustice to the negro is not also injustice to the white man; nor should it ever be forgotten that for the wrongs of both a remedy will assuredly be found. The war, with all its costly sacrifices, was fought in vain unless equal rights for all classes be established in all the States of the Union. In words which are those of friendship, however they may be accepted, I tell the men of the South here on this floor and beyond this chamber, that even if they could strip the negro of his Constitutional rights they can never permanently

maintain the inequality of white men in this nation. They can never make a white man's vote in the South doubly as powerful in the administration of the Government as a white man's vote in the North.

"In a memorable debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Macaulay reminded Daniel O'Connell, when he was moving for Repeal, that the English Whigs had endured calumny, abuse, popular fury, loss of position, exclusion from Parliament rather than that the great agitator himself should be less than a British subject; and Mr. Macaulay warned him that they would never suffer him to be more. Let me now remind you that the Government, under whose protecting flag we sit to-day, sacrificed myriads of lives and expended thousands of millions of treasure that our countrymen of the South should remain citizens of the United States, having equal personal rights and equal political privileges with all other citizens. I venture, now and here, to warn the men of the South, in the exact words of Macaulay, that we will never suffer them to be more!"

This utterance of Mr. Blaine's was the last one made by him in definite, concrete form in Congress upon the subject of the inequality of the representation of the South in national affairs. He took part upon other occasions in debates upon Southern questions, but he never was able to add anything to the

clear and comprehensive view presented by him in the above speech.

Mr. Thurman, who replied to him at the moment, assumed an air of good-natured grumbling. He said that the resolution offered by Mr. Blaine was not sincere, and that it was the thread upon which Republican speeches were to be hung. Mr. Thurman could afford to take the good-natured and the jocular view of the situation. The Democrats were everywhere triumphant in Congress, and any argument made by a Republican in the interests of justice or equality for the unrepresented Republican element in the South was met by a contemptuous shrug and the suggestion that the Republicans lacked sincerity, and were seeking to thresh out the old war issues.

After Mr. Thurman, Mr. Lamar arose. He was the most diplomatic of the Southern men, and one with whom Mr. Blaine had for some time maintained friendly personal relations. Mr. Lamar began with what he intended to be a temperate rebuke of Mr. Blaine for his unpatriotic attempt to stir up sectional hatred. He then paid a compliment to Mr. Blaine's great abilities, expressed a regret that he should so misuse these high abilities, and that the regret was deepened on account of Mr. Lamar's belief that Mr. Blaine was yet to occupy a much higher position before the country. Mr. Blaine listened

very carefully and soberly until Mr. Lamar, passing from the field of compliment, made the remarkable statement that no fraud or outrage had ever been perpetrated by the Democrats in a Southern election contest, when Mr. Blaine actually laughed outright, although he at once assumed an air of apology, as if the remarkable character of the declaration had come upon him with too much suddenness to permit him to retain his self-control. Mr. Lamar said, in closing, in tones of tragic warning, that perhaps the Republicans were releasing the demon of the fable. At this Mr. Edmunds said, with a sarcastic smile, that he did not know whether the demon was present or not, but that he believed that it would be well to go on with the regular order.

This debate led to more exciting scenes later, but Mr. Blaine became involved in none of its personalities. The Southern spirit throughout this debate was that they were in a position of immaculate innocence, that the Republican movement in the South was based on crime and dishonesty, and that perfect government in the South could be maintained only through Democratic control. The Southern and Northern Democrats indulged in the same kind of talk uttered by them in the halls of Congress before the war. They again warned the Northern Republicans not to interfere with the peculiar political

methods of the South for fear that further blood might be shed. It was in the same way that they formerly had warned the North not to interfere with their peculiar institution of slavery. This debate led to the formation of what is known as the Teller Committee which conducted a special investigation which established an official record of a uniform system of outrage, intimidation, and wholesale frauds throughout the South for the maintenance of Democratic rule and of a white man's government in each one of the Southern States.

CHAPTER XXII.

MR. CONKLING WORKING ON THE SAME LINES WITH MR. BLAINE TO CHECK THE ARROGANT ASSUMPTION OF THE SOUTH.—WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN DONE IF THEY HAD WORKED TOGETHER.

IF Mr. Conkling and Mr. Blaine had worked together, they undoubtedly could have secured legislation which might have checked the advancing growth of Southern political power. They were both men of genius. Mr. Conkling was, in some respects, in point of intellectual ability, Mr. Blaine's superior, but he was very much his inferior in the arts and graces of pleasing men. He had none of Mr. Blaine's magnanimous spirit, and was wholly incapable of forgetting an injury. There was nothing but a personal feeling which kept them apart. Their lines of argument relating to the Southern question led practically in the same direction. They both had a profound regard for each other's abilities. Mr. Blaine would have been willing at any time to have made up the difference between them, but he could not make the first advance without some assurance that this advance would not be rejected.

Mr. Blaine's effort, mentioned in the last chapter, was delivered early in the session of 1878 and 1879. Mr. Conkling waited until the 24th of April, 1879, before he came to the front with a speech practically on the same subject. The occasion for this speech was the attitude of the Democrats, who had threatened to defeat the passage of the army appropriation bill unless they could limit the President's power over the army so that troops could not be used under any circumstances to suppress disorder during State elections.

The Southern people, flushed by the Democratic victory of the preceding summer, had grown more and more aggressive as the winter wore along. Mr. Conkling himself appeared to resent Mr. Blaine's apparent fraternizing with the Southern Senators while he was opposing them in theory. Senator Conkling was never so aggressive and so contemptuous in his manner toward the Southern Senators as during this session. The executive session episode, when General Gordon had been led by a burst of passion to challenge him to a duel was only one of the evidences of the feeling stirred up on the Southern side by Mr. Conkling's attitude. It was as a stalwart of the stalwarts that he advanced a policy which should not persuade the South to agree to terms of equality in the Government,

but should absolutely force them to accept such terms.

It was on the 24th of April that Mr. Conkling made the most notable speech of the session. The audience was as remarkable in its character as the one which had gathered to hear Mr. Blaine in the preceding December. The private galleries were packed with the flower of Washington society. Brilliant toilettes and large bouquets of handsome flowers gave the festive air of a social reception to the sombre Senate chamber. The Senate was full, while the floor back of the seats was occupied by a majority of the members who had come over from the House. Mr. Conkling, moving like a great actor who had carefully studied his part, was the focus of every eye. He came into the Senate chamber just before the time for the delivery of his speech dressed in black. The only bit of color in his dress was a tiny patch of red ribbon in the upper button-hole of his black cut-a-way coat. Mr. Conkling had carefully prepared his speech, had memorized it, and had studied the proper shade of inflection for nearly every word of this truthfully cruel and powerful address. Senator Ingalls, dressed in black, with a clerical white cravat, occupied a seat at his right. He performed for Mr. Conkling the temporary office of secretary and stood up and read for him

extracts from documents, which, under ordinary circumstances, during the speech of a Senator are sent up to the clerk's desk to be read. As Mr. Conkling began his speech his face was very pale, but as he talked it flushed, though the speaker never allowed his feelings to carry him beyond the regions of perfect self-control. Upon his desk in front of him rested a modest pile of manuscript. The opening of his speech was original. He began with a declaration which was such an assault upon the Southern position, that it brought Senator Ben Hill at once to the front, before Mr. Conkling himself had uttered a half a dozen lines of his address.

Mr. Conkling held in his hand a sheet of paper upon which were figures taken from the internal revenue reports. These figures were read by a clerk. They showed that of the two hundred and thirty-odd millions of dollars collected under the internal revenue laws for the support of the Government for the preceding year, two hundred and twenty-odd millions were paid by the States which had remained loyal to the Union. Of the eleven States which rebelled, Virginia paid six millions in the tobacco tax, leaving only seven millions coming from the fraction of the country once known as the Southern Confederacy. Mr. Conkling gave these figures to indicate the real proportion that the South



HON. STEPHEN B. ELKINS.

had in the support of the Government, and by comparison to show how little basis it had for its arrogant assumption of a control of the National administration. Senator Ben. Hill, who sought to interrupt at this point, was met with an icy politeness by the New York Senator, who said that he had simply stated facts from the official record, and if the Georgia Senator thought that two could state them better than one he would yield. Mr. Hill then began to explain the figures from his point of view, when Mr. Conkling declined to yield further and resumed his discourse. Mr. Conkling took up the story of the figures and showed that the Southern portion, small as it had been, had been recently diminished by the reduction of the tobacco tax, almost the only tax paid by the South for the support of the Government. Taking then the subject of the people's money, Mr. Conkling proceeded to ask how it was to be used. The people who paid it were certainly the ones who were to be consulted in its expenditure. The Constitution requires that it shall be expended only under appropriations. To make these appropriations is obligatory upon Congress; to refuse is to commit treason, to rise up at once in rebellion. Such refusal to obey plain duties, he said, would render the President, or any occupant of a Federal office, subject to summary

impeachment. Congress was only impeachable at the bar of public opinion. Mr. Conkling then went to the discussion of another Constitutional feature of the question—that the President had undoubtedly the right to call out the militia to suppress domestic violence, and the legislation that has since been passed upon the subject was only specifying plain powers given by the Constitution. Mr. Ingalls here read the statutes bearing upon this subject. When these statutes were read, Mr. Conkling earnestly asked if there was any special reason why any day should be set apart as sacred to violence; to say upon an election day the President should be powerless to suppress outrageous infractions of law. He had heard that the repeal of the Federal election laws had been urged upon the plea of economy. Then with a satirical smile he spoke of the millions that had been poured out like water in the maintenance of the integrity of the Union, as he said, “and was the country to falter now over the \$200,000 necessary for the preservation of the purity of its elections. Why,” said Mr. Conkling, “there is appropriated every year in that monstrosity, known as the River and Harbor bill, enough money to keep the Federal election laws supported as long as grass grows or water runs.” From this aggressive thrust Mr. Conkling passed

rapidly to a dramatic description of the horrors of the riots in New York where, as he said, the occupants of the slums, the grogeries, the vile sinks of crime and other hot-beds of the New York Democracy came out and seized the great city by the throat during the days of the war and would have destroyed it had it not been for the iron hand of Federal interference. This picture of a ribald, ignorant, criminal Democratic mob was tersely and vigorously sketched, even to the burning of the asylum for colored orphans, "from whose funeral pyre the souls of murdered innocents went to Heaven to complain of the terrible inhumanity of man." This picture was given with such grave simplicity, such perfection of utterance, and with such a deep expression of emotion, that tears started from many eyes. A gentleman seated just behind the speaker was so carried away by the pathos of the mournful picture that tears ran down his cheeks. Mr. Conkling changed abruptly from this pathetic picture. He said that New York had then learned a terrible lesson, and that it was on account of General Grant's vigorous efforts to restrain the New York mob that such a crown of victory had been presented to him in his Presidential campaign by this grateful State. "And," said Mr. Conkling, "if the occasion should ever come when General Grant should again be a subject for honor it

will be again seen that New York will never forget his services." This allusion to Grant attracted great attention and was followed by a murmur of approval.

The speaker then described how the corrupt and vicious elements in New York city had nearly always been able to negative the vote of the State, however great the majority there, and then asked whether the thugs and thieves of New York city should be allowed to run riotously free upon election day. Mr. Conkling then passed to a consideration of the present attitude of the Democrats, who were seeking to coerce the executive and to restrict his power. Mr. Conkling thought then that the country was not quite ready to pass over its entire affairs to the men who had so recently tried to ruin it and who represented really such a small proportion of its material interests. He thought the place for the South was not quite so far in the foreground. Here he turned to the Southern Senators, and his quick glance included Mr. Blaine as he said that he was not an advocate of the doctrine of sentiment and gush. Here he gave an amusing description of the Philadelphia Convention of 1867, when members from the North and from the South walked into the Convention with locked arms, gushing and grinning. Just before these last words General Sherman entered the Senate chamber and took a seat in front of Mr.

Conkling. Senator David Davis yielded him his place, while he walked to a chair at the official reporters' table. Mr. Conkling utilized at once the presence of General Sherman by turning to him and saying: "General Sherman, who was present at this Convention, warned those present not to make fools of themselves." The speaker deprecated any such means for the building up of unity of sentiment. It could be only done on a basis of justice, honesty, and equality. Here he came out in the central aisle, and in phrases of blunt common-sense turned his exclusive attention to a group of Southern Senators, who turned white and red with indignation as Mr. Conkling strode up and down the aisle talking to them in a manner which stirred resentment with every phrase. He said that there was room for them all at the national table, but they must not expect that wherever they sat must of a necessity be the head of the table. They must learn something besides politics. "Go to work," said he, "plant, sow, build; make your country the equal of other sections before you come to us talking of ruling in Government councils." This chapter was the best and most convincing part of his speech. He adjured them to disband their rifle clubs, their white leagues, to dismount their night riders, and to show the regard for life and liberty of person that is shown

in other sections of the country. He asked what reason the South had to complain of the North in bringing up the issues of the war. Out of the ninety-three Representatives from the eleven States that entered the Rebellion eighty-five had served in the Confederate army, while three others had held high civil positions under the Confederate Government at Richmond. Upon the Republican side in the Senate there were only four former officers of the Union army and in the House but fifty, out of a representation of about two hundred. Who then was mainly responsible for keeping the war and its issues active in politics? The speaker was the most adroit when he showed that the South was at the bottom of all the pending election legislation. First, he said it was clear that with an honest election the country was overwhelmingly Republican, and that, therefore, a Democratic victory could be secured only by breaking down the safeguards about the ballot-boxes. Now this pending legislation was ruled by the caucus. There were forty-two Democratic Senators, without counting Judge Davis, who went into the caucus. Twenty-three Senators, the representatives of the eleven seceding States, were a majority in this caucus, and controlled its action. Senator Morgan, of Alabama, had very wisely declined to go ahead in this debate, saying that he preferred

Northern Senators to precede him. This presentation of the tail, and the burial of the head in the sands deceived no one, but merely betrayed the species of the bird. At this there was general laughter. It was not through cruelty that the Northern men were deployed in advance, but only as party tactics.

A few days before this speech was delivered David Davis had made a short address, in which he had counseled peace and harmony between the two sides. Mr. Conkling replied to this, and in so doing at first begged the ex-Justice, for whom he had the most profound respect, not to be offended at what he was going to say. He said that this speech of Mr. Davis's reminded him of an improved, copious, ever-flowing stream of soothing syrup, superior even to that of Mrs. Winslow. The Judge believed everything was quiet in the South. Such faith there was not in all Israel! Then Mr. Conkling asked if the learned Judge had read the petition from St. Louis concerning the negro exodus, and then quoted a number of passages from testimony recently taken by Senate committees concerning outrages in the South. Mr. Conkling then turned to Daniel Voorhees, who had recently portrayed a picture of tyranny in the form of Federal election supervisors at the elections. Mr. Conkling paraphrased this picture

of Mr. Voorhees. He said that these supervisors, one Democrat and one Republican, were charged with the despotic duty of tyrannically observing the old and the young, as they cast their ballots, to see that they were not defrauded of their rights. And he, Mr. Conkling, had no doubt that after the fitful fever of this election day, when the end came, the old and the young slept well. Throughout the three hours' talk there was an unflagging interest. When the end came there was no extravagant peroration. It was the simple graceful leaving of the subject, the easy farewell of a man of the world completing a morning call. When he finished, the proceedings of the Senate were suspended for at least ten minutes, to permit those present to extend their personal congratulations to Mr. Conkling. It was one of the most gratifying incidents of Mr. Conkling's career, and an occasion on which he was at his best from the beginning to the end.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MR. BLAINE'S PLANS REGARDING THE SOUTH.—THE
BLAINE—CONKLING STRUGGLE RENEWED AT THE
CHICAGO CONVENTION OF 1880.—MR. BLAINE DE-
FEATS MR. CONKLING.—NOMINATION OF GENERAL
GARFIELD.

WHILE in the Senate, Mr. Blaine directed a good deal of his time to the consideration of Southern questions. The Southern Senators soon found that there was no personal feeling in his speeches, and that while he denounced their political methods, he was perfectly willing to meet them on a friendly footing, and so a number of the leading Southern Senators maintained most cordial relations with him. Senator Lamar, in particular, was very devoted at that time to Mr. Blaine. Mr. Lamar undoubtedly believed then that Mr. Blaine would become, within a few years, the President of the United States, and that if the South could not have a Democrat in that position, they undoubtedly preferred him. They believed that he lacked the element of personal vindictiveness, that he was thoroughly opposed to any policy of revenge, and he had already

interested them in his South American policy. He frequently consulted with them concerning it, and he laid plans during his Senatorial term for a series of improvements throughout the South which should bring into it new elements of commercial power which would in themselves come to the support of the law-and-order elements.

Mr. Blaine's career in Congress is the subject for an interesting and profitable study. In the field of Presidential candidature it lacks permanent interest. It is no longer a story of statesmanship. It is a story of necessary political intrigue, of rivalries between Republican leaders, and of their attempts to defeat each other. Any man who arrives at high prominence in Congress has made on his way there many strong enemies. Under our political system of nominating Presidential candidates, it has become almost impossible for a conspicuous and brilliantly successful man to arrive at consideration if remaining silent or inactive. The candidates who are considered are those who are resolute in pushing their own fortunes, and who have vigorous, firm friends who are willing to work hard for them. The leading contestants often succeed in simply defeating each other, and then the prize goes to some one not thought of at the outset of the contest and one in whom the country has no particular interest. It has become an

established rule in American politics that no Senator of the United States can while in office reach the nomination to the Presidency. The rivalries and personal jealousies of the Senate are so great that, rather than see one of their own members nominated for the Presidency, the rest would unite their entire influence to defeat him.

General Garfield, who was nominated in 1880, was only a Senator-elect, and had never taken his seat and had taken no part in the proceedings of that body.

The winter of 1879 and 1880 was an exciting one, all of the Senatorial candidates were carefully watched and their every act published and criticised. General Grant had now returned home and was the choice of the extreme stalwart element. His candidacy awakened the criticisms of leaders in the anti-third term movement of 1876. They started out favoring any coalition to beat him. "Anything to beat Grant" was the watch-word with them. Mr. Blaine had about the same following that he had in 1876. His record in the Senate had not apparently increased his popularity, which was at its height in the campaign of 1876.

The spring preceding the meeting of the Republican Convention General Grant came to Washington. General Grant, instead of being reticent as usual, talked unreservedly on political subjects. He ex-

pressed with great frankness his objections to Mr. Sherman, the administration candidate. At that time he was not on speaking terms with Mr. Blaine. Mr. Conkling had become General Grant's personal representative. Mr. Conkling himself had been eliminated from the lists of possible candidates for well-known reasons, accepted by every one as putting him out of the contest. The fact that Mr. Conkling was himself out of the fight made his opposition to Mr. Blaine all the more intense. There was no more noticeable figure in the Chicago Convention, when it met, than Senator Conkling. He prided himself then on his being considered the chief of the stalwarts. He had defeated Mr. Blaine in 1876, and it was now Mr. Blaine's turn to defeat Mr. Conkling's ambitions if possible. Seated quietly in his library at Washington, Mr. Blaine was kept constantly advised of every movement in the Convention by his intimate friend, General Garfield, who was chairman of the Ohio delegation, and supposed to be there in the interests of Mr. Sherman. General Garfield's experience as a debater and his really fine presence made a profound impression upon the Convention.

Mr. Conkling held in the Convention the strongest following. The Grant forces polled the largest vote on the first ballot. They were in the position occupied by the Blaine forces at Cincinnati four years

before. They were unable to nominate their man on the first ballot, and from then on had opposed to them the ability and skill of all the other candidates, ready at any moment to combine upon anybody to defeat Grant. Mr. Blaine's was undoubtedly the directing mind of the Convention. The unit rule, which constituted the main strength of the Grant delegates, was broken through the work of the Committee of Rules, of which General Garfield was chairman.

It is questioned in political circles whether General Garfield did not betray Mr. Sherman, and this has never been satisfactorily answered. He was in the Convention representing Mr. Sherman, and he accepted a nomination in the end while he had been sent by his State to present the claims of some one else. The choice of this Convention was bitterly contested and the sessions ran through a number of days. On the first ballot General Grant received three hundred and four; Mr. Blaine two hundred and eighty-four; John Sherman ninety-three; E. B. Washburne thirty-one; George F. Edmunds thirty-four, and Wm. Windom ten votes. The stalwarts, under the leadership of Mr. Conkling, stood firmly by General Grant, and Mr. Blaine's forces were equally faithful. The suggestion to break the deadlock through turning the vote of the Blaine forces to

General Garfield came from Mr. Blaine's house at Washington. He saw that he could not be nominated himself, and he indicated among the candidates before the Convention, the one who would be the most acceptable to him. General Garfield protested with apparent indignation when the ballot began to turn in his direction. He said that he could not with honor accept a nomination. This remark seemed to convince the Convention that he possessed unusual merits, and the stampede began which carried with it defeat for the stalwarts, humiliation for Mr. Conkling, ending another chapter in the Blaine-Conkling feud which resulted in the nomination of James A. Garfield on the thirty-sixth ballot. The extraordinary fierceness of the fight made by Mr. Conkling was shown by the fact that in the face of the stampede not a single Grant vote was lost, and that General Grant polled on the final ballot two more votes than he did on the opening one. The stalwarts perpetuated this contest by having a badge made on which the figures 306 were emblazoned as an emblem of fidelity to the fortunes of General Grant.

The nomination of Chester A. Arthur as second on the ticket with General Garfield was a concession made to the Grant men, but this act was not the occasion of any marked manifestation of gratitude.

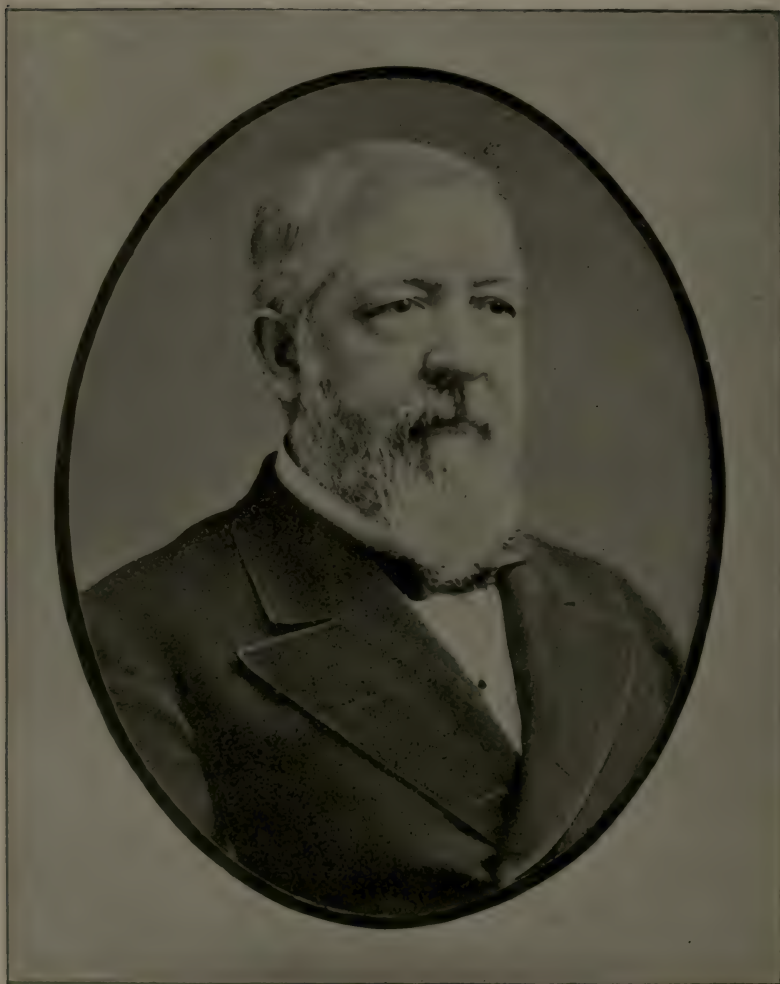
CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF 1880.—GENERAL GARFIELD MAKES PEACE WITH THE STALWARTS.—THE PARTY DISRUPTED OVER A FIGHT ABOUT OFFICES.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S nomination was a great disappointment to the stalwarts. They recognized it as a substantial Blaine victory. During the early part of the campaign they were silent and reserved. One of the current expressions of the day described them as "warriors sulking in their tents." Several weeks elapsed without any outward indication upon their part of enthusiasm over the ticket. Senator Sherman was also indignant, and for a time it looked as if he might quietly oppose his influence to General Garfield in the State of Ohio. Then came a conference of the Republican leaders at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, in New York. General Grant, who was always conspicuous for his common sense and unselfishness, was the first of the Republican leaders approached by the representatives of General Garfield. General Grant showed no resentment or disappointment over the result of the Chicago Convention. He pledged at once his own support to

the ticket, and promised to use his influence to bring the rest of the stalwarts into line. He did this. Mr. Conkling, through the influence of General Grant, supported the ticket throughout New York, and as he had in that State a most devoted personal following, his influence was undoubtedly necessary to the Republican success in that Presidential campaign. The stalwarts followed the lead of these two chiefs. General Hancock, who had been nominated by the Democrats, was unfortunate enough to speak of the tariff as a mere local issue, and the ridicule heaped upon him weakened him more as a candidate than if he had been made the target of the most virulent scandal or abuse. General Garfield's election by a decided majority in the Electoral College was most gratifying to the Republicans. It affirmed the decision made by the Electoral Commission, which declared that Mr. Hayes had been elected in 1876. The Democrats had made a charge of fraud in that election one of the issues of the campaign, and the decision in the election of 1880 was that the charge was not sustained.

General Garfield remained at his home in Mentor, Ohio, during the greater part of the winter preceding his inauguration. The first office tendered by him to any one was the position of Secretary of State to



MR. BLAINE AT SIXTY.
Secretary of State in the Harrison Cabinet.

Mr. Blaine. General Garfield had always been dominated and controlled by Mr. Blaine, from the day when the latter rehabilitated him in the House by putting him at the head of the Appropriations Committee when he was under the cloud of the Credit-Mobilier investigation. Mr. Blaine appreciated the great abilities of General Garfield, while at the same time he was fully conscious of his weak side. General Garfield had high aspirations, but was easily guided by a stronger will. Mr. Blaine had that stronger will, and when he accepted the office of Secretary of State under President Garfield he accepted all the more readily because he knew that with that acceptance he would have practically the control and direction of the National administration in the fields of his legitimate ambition.

The offer to Mr. Blaine was made on the 26th of November, just after the election. Mr. Blaine took some days for consideration, and then wrote the following letter of acceptance :

“ WASHINGTON, December 20th, 1880.

“ MY DEAR GARFIELD :—Your generous invitation to enter your Cabinet as Secretary of State has been under consideration for more than three weeks. The thought had really never occurred to my mind until at our late conference you presented

it with such cogent arguments in its favor and with such warmth of personal friendship in aid of your kind offer.

“I know that an early answer is desirable, and I have waited only long enough to consider the subject in all its bearings and to make up my mind, definitely and conclusively. I now say to you, in the same cordial spirit in which you have invited me, that I accept the position.

“It is no affectation for me to add that I make this decision, not for the honor of the promotion it gives me in the public service, but because I think I can be useful to the country and to the party; useful to you as the responsible leader of the party and the great head of the Government.

“I am influenced somewhat, perhaps, by the shower of letters I have received urging me to accept, written to me in consequence of the mere unauthorized newspaper report that you had been pleased to offer me the place. While I have received these letters from all sections of the Union, I have been especially pleased and even surprised at the cordial and widely extended feeling in my favor throughout New England, where I had expected to encounter local jealousy and perhaps rival aspiration.

“In our new relation I shall give all that I am and all that I can hope to be, freely and joyfully, to

your service. You need no pledge of my loyalty in heart and in act. I should be false to myself did I not prove true both to the great trust you confide to me and to your own personal and political fortunes in the present and in the future. Your administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all directing its energies for re-election, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events and by the imperious necessities of the situation.

“To that most desirable consummation I feel that, next to yourself, I can possibly contribute as much influence as any other one man. I say this not from egotism or vainglory, but merely as a deduction from a plain analysis of the political forces which have been at work in the country for five years past, and which have been significantly shown in two great National Conventions. I accept it as one of the happiest circumstances connected with this affair that in allying my political fortunes with yours—or rather for the time merging mine in yours—my heart goes with my head, and that I carry to you not only political support but personal and devoted friendship. I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims and cherishing the same ambitions, should never, for a single moment in

eighteen years of close intimacy, have had a misunderstanding or a coolness, and that our friendship has steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength.

“It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter ; for however much, my dear Garfield, I might admire you as a statesman, I would not enter your Cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend.

“Always faithfully yours,

JAMES G. BLAINE.”

The acceptance upon the part of Mr. Blaine was not officially made known to the public until the latter part of the month of February of that winter. He remained in the Senate attending to his daily duties until some of the Stalwarts began to hope that Mr. Blaine was not to be in the new administration. Mr. Conkling even made a pilgrimage to Mentor, where he was received by General Garfield and where he also received the promise that Mr. L. P. Morton should be made Secretary of the Treasury. At least Mr. Conkling was the authority for this declaration. It is true that Mr. Conkling was a difficult man to deal with, but it does appear that very little trouble was taken to satisfy him after the election. He had loyally supported the ticket during the campaign,

and when Mr. Blaine was placed at the head of the Cabinet he feared at once that he was to be made an object of attack. It is an unfortunate chapter in our politics. The great issues discussed in and out of Congress by the Republican leaders were forgotten, and questions of personal power were substituted. In reality, these issues were small ones, but at the time they looked very large. Mr. Conkling had a great political power in his State. He was devoted to his friends and merciless toward his enemies. When the new administration formed its Cabinet, and left out of it all representation of the stalwart element, Mr. Conkling was only too ready to ascribe the composition of the Cabinet to the powerful influence of Mr. Blaine. He was at once ready to make the fight which he said had been thrust upon him. If he had been content to have gone ahead in a dignified way in the Senate and to have dropped the question of personal importance and Federal patronage he would undoubtedly have had the sympathy of the country. As it was, he degraded his great political career by staking the whole of it on an issue of Federal patronage. President Garfield sent into the Senate the name of Mr. Robertson, an opponent of Mr. Conkling's, for the office of Collector of the Port of New York. Mr. Conkling regarded this as a personal blow at himself in his own State.

A war of a personal character at once began. Mr. Conkling was jeered at for having trusted President Garfield. He was told by the newspapers of the country that his old enemy, Mr. Blaine, had him now at a disadvantage, and that his political power would henceforth be limited. Mr. Conkling made the mistake of assuming that a control of the Federal patronage in his State was at all necessary to his standing. He then had a great place and a great name. He could have much better afforded to wait in patience the result of time rather than to force the issue that was then made. The Garfield administration, upon the other hand, should have shown more magnanimity. It was in the position of power, and should have borne much before needlessly antagonizing such a man as Mr. Conkling. His manner at this time was not ingratiating. At Mentor even his requests were like demands.

During the final months preceding the inauguration of General Garfield, Mr. Blaine increased his intimacy with the Southern Senators. He was then recognized by them as the coming man, and he believed that he could bring the South to a system of honest government and to a proper consideration of the Republican voters in that section of the country by other means than violent ones. He believed in

appealing to their self-interest, and through this self-interest to divide them. He consulted frequently with Mr. Lamar, and told him that he was going into the Cabinet. He outlined to this most distinguished Southern Senator the details of his South American plan. He pictured to him how the commercial importance of the South could be increased through the development of this policy. There was first to be a Peace Conference, which should bring the Republics of this continent together, and then a reciprocity policy was to be brought forward as a means of adding commercial strength to the union of sentiment. He described to Mr. Lamar the plan for the Pan-American Railroad, which was to unite the Southwest and South in direct communication with the rich countries lying still to the south of them. Mr. Blaine made one more speech in the Senate during this winter, in which he advised liberal subsidies for steamship lines running to South American ports. This was in accordance with the sentiment of Southern Senators, had their cordial support, and was generally regarded as an outline of the policy of the new administration.

The brilliant South American policy of Mr. Blaine's, which was not to be fully developed until eight years later under President Harrison, was not fully begun under President Garfield. So far as the

public was concerned it was completely overshadowed by the war with Mr. Conkling.

The Vice-President sympathized with Mr. Conkling and approved his resolution to resign from the Senate and make the issue with the new administration before the Legislature at Albany. Mr. Thomas C. Platt, his associate, resigned also. Senator Logan, who had been a strong friend of Mr. Conkling, was indignant at this act of weakness. He said to Mr. Arthur the day they resigned, "They will never live long enough to be again elected to any office."

The resignations proved to be acts of political suicide. The people of New York regarded the resignations as trifling with them over an issue too small to be considered. Mr. Conkling had lived too long in an atmosphere of adulation to see clearly. No one was more surprised and disappointed than he when the Legislature rebuked his act by retiring him to private life. From that day Mr. Conkling kept out of active politics and devoted himself to the practice of law.

He made his last move in politics when he threw the influence left him against Mr. Blaine in the campaign of 1884. He died from the effects of an exposure in the blizzard that swept suddenly upon New York in March, 1887.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE GARFIELD CABINET.—MADE UP WHOLLY SUBORDINATE TO MR. BLAINE.—THE BREAK WITH THE STALWARTS AND THE FOREIGN POLICY.—THE ASSASSINATION OF GARFIELD AND THE TEMPORARY FAILURE OF MR. BLAINE'S PLANS.

THE Garfield administration, so far as its Cabinet was concerned, was completed during the last twenty-four hours preceding the inauguration. There was great difficulty in filling the post of Secretary of the Treasury. The Stalwarts had asked for the place, and both the Grant and Conkling elements had pressed the claims of L. P. Morton, of New York. But General Garfield said that he was too closely identified with the banking interests to be eligible, and so he turned to his former intimates in Congress. He made the first offer to Senator Allison, of Iowa. He considered the subject for several days, and finally declined, preferring to remain in the Senate. Through this wisdom upon his part he escaped retirement to private life, and has remained in the Senate ever since. Senator Windom, whose term was about to expire, was offered the place, and he accepted the

night before inauguration. He had been associated with Mr. Garfield in the House, was in the confidence of Mr. Blaine, and was very intimate with the latter in the Senate. He was thoroughly in accord with both the President and the head of his Cabinet. The entire Cabinet was made up in accordance with the wishes of Mr. Blaine; not a single element antagonistic to him was admitted. The general criticism of the opponents of the administration was that it was a weak Cabinet, with the exception of its head.

Mr. Windom in the Treasury gave satisfaction as a good business administrator. He was a safe, careful man, but he was not original. He would have been incapable of outlining any determined or bold policy, but he was very faithful and discreet in carrying out the orders of a superior mind. In the War Department, Mr. Lincoln, then a young lawyer without the slightest experience in public affairs, began to learn his duties. In the Navy Department was W. H. Hunt, a former judge of the Court of Claims. He was from Louisiana. He was a well-equipped lawyer with a good knowledge of affairs, but he was comparatively unknown to the public, and represented no active element in political life, although he was put in as the representative of the South. In the Interior Department was Mr. Kirk-

wood, a former Senator. He was an amiable old gentleman, very slow and lethargic in his movements, possessing strong common sense and good abilities, but having none of the executive qualities of an administrator necessary for a great department. He labored under the delusion that he could do everything himself, and until he learned by absolute necessity to delegate some of the work of his department to others the affairs of that portion of the administration were hopelessly behind. The Attorney-General was Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania, a corporation lawyer without any previous public experience. He owed his selection to the fact that he was a son-in-law of Simon Cameron. He made no record for himself during the brief period of his career, except as a disorganizing element. Had General Garfield lived, he would have undoubtedly been changed during the fall of 1881. The Post-office Department was given to Thomas L. James, of New York city, another gentleman wholly unknown to public life, and whose experience had been entirely in commercial affairs. The general impression throughout the country was that Mr. Blaine had the administration so completely under his will that the President was practically his private secretary and the Cabinet a board of recording scribes.

The opening chapter in the history of this new administration was one of turmoil and political excitement. The nomination of Mr. Robertson for the Collector of the Port of New York was directly charged to the influence of Mr. Blaine. Mr. Robertson had been a devoted adherent of Mr. Blaine's in his State and a consequent opponent of Mr. Conkling's. When the two New York Senators resigned, President Garfield showed what a poor politician he was by being anxious as to the result before the Legislature at Albany. Mr. Blaine never had any doubt about the result. He considered Mr. Conkling eliminated from the field of political calculation on the day he resigned from the United States Senate.

Mr. Conkling's defeat caused a very bitter feeling upon the part of certain stalwarts, although their personal sympathy for him after he resigned was but slight. Mr. Conkling resigned on the 16th of May, 1881. It was about this time that General Grant had a break with President Garfield. A few days after President Garfield's inauguration General Grant called upon him to pay his respects. He said, afterward, that the President thanked him most heartily for the part he had taken in the previous campaign. He said that his open stand in company with Conkling and Logan had been the turning-point of the campaign. He asked General Grant if there was not

something that he could do for him which would enable him to show his gratitude for the service that he had rendered him. General Grant at first refused to suggest anything. He said that he had called merely to pay his respects, and had no wish to burden the administration with any personal requests. General Garfield, however, persisted, and then General Grant made three requests. The first was that General Badeau, formerly of his staff, a lifelong and intimate friend, and who was engaged then in writing the history of his life, should be retained as Consul-General at London. The second request was that his brother-in-law, Mr. Kramer, then Minister to Copenhagen, should be retained at his post, this request being made chiefly on account of the feeble health of Mrs. Kramer, General Grant's sister, who found the climate of Copenhagen very beneficial to her. The third request was that John Russell Young should be made Minister to Mexico. The fulfilment of these requests was readily promised. General Grant left the White House, went to New-York, and did not come back to Washington again that spring. On the very day of his call Mr. Kramer, by direction of the State Department, was transferred from Copenhagen to Berne, and General Badeau was transferred from London to Copenhagen so as to make a place for Mr. Merritt, the former Collector

of the Port of New York, who had been moved out to make a place for Mr. Conkling's enemy, Mr. Robertson. The request concerning John Russell Young was never acted on. These and similar stories concerning the attitude of the administration toward the stalwarts were published from time to time, and the climax of all this excitement was the assassination of President Garfield on the 2d of July, 1881, by Charles J. Guiteau, within four months following his inauguration.

Guiteau, the assassin, was in every respect a despicable creature. He had apparently no elements of humanity or decency in his composition. It would be very unjust to charge him to any community or party. He was a product of ignoble conditions, and was a creature wholly unbalanced by an egotism and a vanity which amounted to insanity, although when put on trial for his life he was found accountable and sent to the gallows as an ordinary murderer. The word "crank," so often misused, could properly be employed to describe Guiteau. The word came into common use during the period of his trial. During the change of any administration at Washington there is always a great pressure brought to bear from office-seekers. This demand for official place comes from all corners of the country, and brings to Washington a great many different types of

half-crazy humanity. Many enfeebled and ill-informed minds of this class become inflamed in the atmosphere of political excitement they find at Washington. Some of these applicants for office become actually insane. This insanity often reaches a belief that they themselves have been elected to high office, and that the President of the United States is keeping them out of their positions. The White House is the loadstone which draws to it the crazy people who come to the Capital. The arrest of insane persons at the doors of the White House, who come there for the purpose of taking the President's life is only too common.

Guiteau was a man in the neighborhood of forty years of age when he came to Washington, after the inauguration of Garfield. He was a man of medium height and small figure. He had a fairly good-sized head. His reddish hair was closely cropped, his forehead was narrow and wrinkled, his eyes were a pale blue, his nose small and straight, his mouth vulgar and thick-lipped, while a reddish, scrubby mustache and ragged beard covered the lower part of his face. He had been partially educated as a lawyer. He had been married, but had deserted his wife in Chicago, and had pursued every known device for obtaining a living without work. He was a natural vagabond, without a single redeem-

ing quality. He was dirty and repulsive in his person, with a cold perspiration constantly standing on his forehead and dripping from his hands, which in itself suggested a disordered mind. He was a beast in his appetites, devoured his food like a wolf, and insulted women whenever he had the slightest opportunity of coming in their neighborhood. He was dishonest and without any regard for the rights of others. Yet, in spite of all these ignoble and wretched qualities, he had the most colossal egotism. He imagined himself to be a great politician, a polished writer, and capable of holding the highest office. He besieged the door-keepers of the antechamber of the White House for weeks, and sent there long, rambling missives presenting his claims for an appointment. His dirty, wretched appearance and his general air of repulsiveness made him rejected at every door. He could not even secure admission to present his papers, and could not have obtained an appointment as a laborer in any of the Government departments. He used to say in his letters that he was a Blaine Republican. When his missives met with no response he began to write threatening letters. He then signed himself a stalwart Republican.

The morning of the 2d of July was a regular Washington mid-summer day. The thermometer registered ninety in the shade, and the radiation from



INTERIOR OF THE CABINET ROOM.

the pavements made walking in the streets intolerable. The President had planned to leave that morning at half-past nine on the New York train to go to a commencement at Williams College. He was then to spend several weeks in Massachusetts. Mr. Blaine had planned to go away with him, and to separate from the President in Massachusetts, then going on to Maine. The President was in a happy, contented mood. He had just seen the end of the first political fight of the administration, and had had his mind directed entirely toward the South-American policy of Mr. Blaine, which he thought would make such a brilliant chapter in his administration. For the first time in his life perhaps he was financially at ease. With his large family his relatively narrow income as member of Congress had been sufficient for only actual necessities of life. He had not even known the luxury of a private carriage. The large salary and abundant ease of his new position were specially gratifying to him, after his many years of self-denial. He was in the prime of physical health, in the first year of his Presidential term. He hoped and believed that his administration would succeed itself, and that he had before him perhaps eight years of power, a career which appealed to his mind, especially open to imaginative impressions.

On the way to the station he joked and laughed with the high spirits of a school-boy off for a vacation. Mr. Blaine drove to the station with him. He stood by his side in the ladies' waiting-room of the Pennsylvania station while the train was being made ready. The President and his Secretary of State stood with their backs to the street entrance, facing the door which communicated with the main station. Guiteau, who had been hanging about the White House and the departments for the last month, came in too from the street without being noticed by any one until he drew a short bull-dog revolver and fired directly into the back of the President, while standing not more than four feet away. He fired twice, but it was only the first shot that hit the President. General Garfield fell unconscious to the floor as the assassin brandished his revolver, saying, "I am a stalwart and Arthur is President." The shock to Mr. Blaine was very great, as he expected that he would be the next victim of the assassin's weapon. He stooped and lifted the President's head as the by-standers rushed and secured the assassin. It was with difficulty that Guiteau was carried by the police through the streets to the jail. In almost any other city he would have been lynched upon the spot. The citizens of the Capital are the most law-abiding people in the country, and notwithstanding the violent

expressions of indignation at the cruel and cowardly act of the vulgar assassin, they consented to allow the law to take its course. And the authorities soon concealed him from sight.

The President was carried back to the White House, where the surgeons in attendance decided that he was mortally wounded. A Cabinet meeting was called, and Mr. Blaine related the story of the assassination. Mr. Blaine suffered as cruelly from this shock as if he had himself been stricken by the hand of the assassin. It was a bolt from a summer sky. The President was first his friend, and it was through him that he occupied his position of power. That morning he had reviewed with General Garfield just what they would do during the next four years. He had laid out great and noble plans. He knew that this policy would make the country soon forget the petty war over offices in New York. He saw this plan and his policy dashed to the ground, and, with the death of the President, his retirement to private life. He knew then that there would be no possibilities of his remaining the absolute master of the administrative situation with a change in the office of the Presidency. The whole composition of the administration had been made to fit his plans. Now any change which would come would of necessity undo all that he had outlined.

This second blow to Mr. Blaine was so severe that it as seriously impaired his health as would have a long illness. He had no longer the rude vigor to sustain continued shocks and disappointments. The first blow came during the strain of the Democratic investigations of the House. Early in the days of the Garfield administration, a Democratic committee had again sought to discredit him through the charges of a man of the name of Shipherd, who had been disbarred from practice before the State Department. He charged that Mr. Blaine was interested in the Landreau claim, a great claim against the Peruvian Government, and that was the motive which led Mr. Blaine, early in the history of the Garfield administration, to send his oldest son, Mr. Walker Blaine, and Mr. William Henry Trescott as special envoys to Peru for the purpose of offering their good offices as mediators to settle the devastating war then going on between Chili and Peru. The charges fell nearly as soon as they were made. This investigation illustrated well the Democratic point of view at that time. Mr. Blaine's whole South American policy in its beginning was denounced as in the interests of private speculation. No better motives could then be found by his political opponents.

Mr. Blaine, who had intended to go to the bracing climate of Maine for the summer of 1881, was obliged

to remain at Washington on account of the President's illness during the trying months of July and August. Since his sunstroke in 1876 he was much troubled by extreme heat. The summer of this year was especially severe. The atmosphere was very depressing and debilitating. Hardly a drop of rain fell during nearly two months that General Garfield lay at the point of death in the White House. The country was again disturbed and excited, and some of the partisan newspapers charged, according to their political view, the responsibility for stirring up the political excitement which had led to the inflaming of the feeble mind of Guiteau alternately upon the heads of the stalwarts and the Blaine Republicans.

The burden of this summer aged Mr. Blaine rapidly. When he went to Long Branch with the dying President he looked himself as if he were suffering from some mortal malady. His face was ashen, while dark rings encircled his eyes, and he moved with a languor unusual to him.

He had almost no respite from his official duties until the following winter. He came back to Washington with Mr. Arthur after the death of President Garfield, and served under the new administration for a few weeks, until Mr. Arthur reorganized his Cabinet, retaining only Mr. Lincoln of the original Cabinet selected by Mr. Garfield. Some of Mr.

Blaine's enemies have represented him as having made overtures to Mr. Arthur, hoping to be retained in his Cabinet. This is wholly untrue. Mr. Blaine would have remained if Mr. Arthur had asked him to, and would have gone on, if he had been permitted, with the policy he had begun under the Garfield administration; but he saw, within the shortest time after his return to Washington, that there was such a lack of harmony of ideas between himself and the new President that he placed his resignation in the hands of Mr. Arthur upon the reassembling of Congress the following winter.

Mr. Blaine's last official act of importance under the Arthur administration, was the entertainment of the French and German visitors who came here to take part in the Centennial celebration of the victory at Yorktown. The descendants of Baron Steuben were the most conspicuous of the German visitors, while the descendants of Lafayette were the principal French guests. The famous General Boulanger was officially attached to the French deputation, and as there were several distinguished German officers with the German visitors, it required very nice tact and good management to treat the two opposing sets of visitors with equal courtesy so that neither could be offended. It was a difficult task, because the French and the Germans were then very antagonistic, and

apparently on the watch for some occasion for affront. In a task of this kind where social and diplomatic abilities were requisite Mr. Blaine was always successful. He closed the formal ceremonies by a brilliant reception which he gave at Wormley's Hotel in Washington.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MR. BLAINE'S ACTIVITY IN THE OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE.—THE ENERGY DISPLAYED IN OPENING UP AT ONCE HIS SOUTH AMERICAN POLICY.

NO BETTER illustration of Mr. Blaine's activity of mind can be given than by looking through the dispatches in the diplomatic correspondence in 1881. During the four months of the Garfield administration he wrote enough to fill a small volume. The questions embraced were wide and far-reaching, and covered issues between many countries and ours. The political fight with Mr. Conkling could have occupied but a small share of Mr. Blaine's attention, judging by the volume of the work left recorded in the archives of the State Department. Many of the dispatches represent great labor, research, and study.

The first of these dispatches was between Mr. Blaine and James Russell Lowell on the subject of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty relating to the inter-oceanic canal at the isthmus. Mr. Blaine was not satisfied with the treaty as it then stood. He wished to secure its modification. Under the treaty we

undertook to guarantee the neutrality of the canal in co-operation with Great Britain, but we were forbidden to land troops or to fortify upon the land, while Great Britain with its powerful navy could, in the event of dispute or disturbance, seize the mouths of the canal and hold them against all comers until dislodged by superior force. Mr. Blaine desired to have this Government assume wholly the guaranteeing of the neutrality of the canal, and presented an elaborate argument, in which he claimed that the following summary of the adjustments of the articles of the treaty would meet with his approval.

“First.—Every part of the treaty which forbids the United States to fortify the canal and hold the political control of it in conjunction with the country in which it is located, to be canceled.

“Second.—Every part of the treaty in which Great Britain and the United States agree to make no acquisition of territory in Central America to remain in full force. As an original proposition, this Government would not admit that Great Britain and the United States should be put on the same basis, even negatively with respect to territorial acquisitions on the American Continent, and would be unwilling to establish such a precedent without full explanation. But the treaty contains that provision with respect to Central America, and if the United States should

seek its annulment it might give rise to erroneous and mischievous apprehensions among a people with whom this Government desires to be on the most friendly terms. The United States has taken special occasion to assure the Spanish-American Republics that we do not intend and do not desire to cross their borders, or in any way disturb their territorial integrity. We shall not, therefore, willingly incur the risk of a misunderstanding by annulling the clauses in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty which forbid such a step with respect to Central America. But the acquisition of military and naval stations necessary for the protection of the canal and voluntarily ceded to the United States by the Central American States is not to be regarded as a violation of the provision contained in the foregoing.

“Third.—The United States will not object to the clause looking to the establishment of a free port at each end of whatever canal may be constructed, if England desires the clause to be retained.

“Fourth.—The clause in which the two Governments agreed to make treaty stipulations for a joint protectorate of whatever railway or canal might be constructed at Tehuantepec or Panama has never been perfected. No treaty stipulations for the proposed end have been suggested by either party, although citizens of the United States long since con-

structed a railway at Panama, and are now engaged in the same work at Tehuantepec. It is a fair presumption, in the judgment of the President, that this provision should be regarded as obsolete by the non-action and common consent of the two Governments.

"Fifth.—The clause defining the distance from either end of the canal where, in time of war, captures might be made by either belligerent on the high seas, was left incomplete, and the distance was never determined. In the judgment of the President, speaking in the interest of peaceful commerce, this distance should be made as liberal as possible, and might, with advantage, as a question relating to the high seas and common to all nations, be a matter of stipulation between the great powers of the world."

The most elaborate dispatch upon the subject was written upon the 24th of June, 1881, and was followed later by dispatches on the 19th of November and the 29th of the same month, just before he tendered his resignation to Mr. Arthur. This argument of Mr. Blaine's so elaborately presented then represents to-day the Government's attitude in Central American canal affairs. We are to-day committed absolutely by a policy of guaranteeing the neutrality of any such canal which may be constructed against seizure

or control by any foreign power without any regard to the character or ownership of the company owning and managing the canal. This position of the Government has been reaffirmed from time to time, and now is generally accepted as a part of the extension of the Monroe Doctrine.

On the 26th of May Mr. Blaine wrote two dispatches to Minister Lowell concerning arbitrary arrests in Ireland of American citizens for alleged political reasons. Mr. Blaine's directions here were very explicit. American citizens were not to receive the countenance of our Minister for any infraction of local laws, but where they were unjustly arrested or made the subjects of political prosecution, their rights were to be carefully guarded. All through Mr. Blaine's dispatches his instructions regarding the protection of American citizens in foreign lands are diplomatic and just, and at the same time show unusual firmness upon the part of the Government to protect these interests where improperly encroached upon.

One of the most important steps taken by Mr. Blaine in the direction of the furthering of his South American policy was his sending the special envoys to Peru to see if the good offices of this Government could not be accepted to arbitrate the dispute between Peru and Chili, and to put an end to

a cruel and destructive war then going on. Some of the leading Governments of Europe had previously to this sought to co-operate with this country to perform this act of mediation. This was notably true in the case of France, which had large interests in Peru. Mr. Blaine declined always to accept such assistance, following the time-honored policy of this Government not to be drawn into entangling foreign alliances for the consideration of foreign questions.

The offer of France came through the influence of the *Credit Industriel* Company, of Paris. The agents of this company had previously established close relations with General Hurlbut, our Minister at Peru. General Kilpatrick was the Minister to Chili. Both ministers exceeded their authority from time to time, and were the subjects of severe rebuke. General Hurlbut, upon his own judgment and responsibility, negotiated with the Government of Peru for a naval and coaling station for the United States. He also entertained a proposition for the transfer of a railroad company, of which he was to become the trustee, to an American company. Mr. Blaine has been regarded as over-anxious to acquire power in the direction of the South. He showed his conservative spirit, however, by discrediting wholly the action of General Hurlbut, and instructing him to notify the Peruvian Gov-

ernment that what he had done was wholly unauthorized and disapproved. Mr. Hurlbut's indiscretion gave Chili an opportunity to make just complaint. General Kilpatrick, upon his part, was equally indiscreet in other directions. He resented the criticisms of Chili. The effect of the interposition of these two Ministers was for the time injurious to Mr. Blaine's plans. The instructions to the special envoys who were sent down are models of discretion. The two envoys soon after their arrival smoothed away all difficulties, and would have made a brilliant success of their mission had they not been recalled by Mr. Frelinghuysen.

During the month of June a number of elaborate dispatches were written by Mr. Blaine concerning our relations with Mexico. There was then a dispute going on between Mexico and Guatemala as to the boundary line between the two countries. The Government of Guatemala made a formal application to the President of the United States to lend his good offices toward the restoration of a better state of feeling between the two Republics. Mexico then proposed to use its superior power to invade Guatemala and settle the question of the boundary by the arbitrary exercise of might. Our relations with Mexico were then most cordial, and Mr. Blaine's dispatches to Mr. Morgan at Mexico kept wholly within

the line of friendship in the suggestions which he made in the interests of the weaker power. He admitted at the outset that if Mexico should decline to accept our intervention there was nothing more to be said, as it was clearly within Mexico's right to decline such intervention. Closing his dispatch upon this subject, Mr. Blaine presented a brief argument bearing upon his whole general policy. It was this dispatch which produced the most favorable effect, and ultimately led to the settlement of the dispute upon a basis of fairness and equity. The concluding paragraphs of Mr. Blaine's last dispatch upon this subject are as follows :

“ But in reference to the union of the Central American Republics under one Federal Government, the United States is ready to avow that no subject appeals more strongly to its sympathy nor more decidedly to its judgment. Nor is this a new policy. For many years this Government has urged upon the Central American States the importance of such an union to the creation of a well-ordered and constitutionally governed Republic, and our Ministers have been instructed to impress this upon the individual Governments to which they have been accredited, and to the Central American statesmen with whom they have been associated. We have always cherished the belief that in this effort we had the

sincere sympathy and cordial co-operation of the Mexican Government. Under the conviction that the future of the people of Central America is absolutely dependent upon the establishment of a Federal Government which would give strength abroad and maintain peace at home, our chief motive in the recent communications to Mexico was to prevent the diminution, either political or territorial, of any one of these States, or the disturbance of their exterior relations, in order that, trusting to the joint aid and friendship of Mexico and the United States, they might be encouraged to persist in their effort to establish a Government which would, both for their advantage and ours, represent their combined wealth, intelligence, and character.

“If this Government is expected to infer from the language of Señor Mariscal that the prospect of such a result is not agreeable to the policy of Mexico, and that the interest which the United States has always manifested in its consummation renders unwelcome the friendly intervention which we have offered, I can only say that it deepens the regret with which we shall learn the decision of the Mexican Government, and compels me to declare that the Government of the United States will consider a hostile demonstration against Guatemala for the avowed purpose, or with the certain result of weakening her power in



ACCEPTING THE PORTFOLIO OF STATE UNDER HARRISON.

such an effort, as an act not in consonance with the position and character of Mexico, not in harmony with the friendly relations existing between us, and injurious to the best interests of all the Republics of this continent.

“The Government of the United States has sincere sympathy with the Spanish Republics of America, and profound interest in their prosperity; and is influenced by no selfish considerations in its earnest efforts to prevent war between them. This country will continue its policy of peace even if it cannot have the great aid which the co-operation of Mexico would assure; and it will hope, at no distant day, to see such concord and co-operation between all the nations of America as will render war impossible.”

CHAPTER XXVII.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR'S EMBARRASSMENT UPON ASSUMING OFFICE.—A STUDY OF HIS CHARACTER.—HIS DESIRE TO ASSERT HIMSELF.—FIRST BREAKING WITH MR. CONKLING, AND THEN RE-ORGANIZING HIS CABINET.—REVERSAL OF THE SOUTH-AMERICAN POLICY.

MR. ARTHUR was greatly embarrassed by the free expressions of public opinion at the time of President Garfield's assassination. Public indignation made him the scapegoat of popular feeling. If General Garfield had died within a few days after he was shot, he might have met with serious resistance in going to Washington. The public indignation among a certain turbulent-loving class was so great that his life was threatened in many anonymous missives. The more sober journals of the country severely criticised him for the share that he had taken in advising Mr. Conkling to resign from the Senate. Mr. Arthur was very much overcome at the shock of the assassination, and for a brief period recoiled before the responsibilities which now appeared so imminent. The protracted illness of General Garfield

prepared the country for the change to the new administration.

Mr. Arthur was an amiable, kindly disposed man, with very little experience in public affairs. He possessed but moderate ability, and was very sensitive to criticism. He feared that the public would estimate him as a puppet in the hands of others. He had been classed as one of Mr. Conkling's lieutenants—that was his political rank in New York. He had previously held the office of Collector of the Port of New York. This appointment he owed directly to Mr. Conkling. He was an officer in the Conkling political organization. He owed his place on the National ticket with General Garfield entirely to his relations with Mr. Conkling. Mr. Conkling did not suggest his name, and would have scorned to have given an opinion concerning the second place on the ticket, after his failure to secure the nomination of General Grant. But Mr. Arthur was put on the ticket, nevertheless, as the representative of this defeated element. When he came to Washington as Vice-President he was in the prime of life and in the full vigor of what appeared to be robust health. He was very tall and inclined to be stout. He had a large head and a full double-chinned face. His hair was dark and curling, slightly sprinkled with gray. His forehead was broad, while his eyes were dark

and full around the lids. His nose was straight. A slight mustache and small side-whiskers set off his fresh-colored face. He was very neat in his dress, and had the air and manner of a prosperous New York club-man. He was apparently satisfied to reach the standard of a polished member of a club. He was the first President of this class in the White House. His friends were fond even then of saying that Mr. Arthur was the first gentleman who ever occupied the White House. He kept very late hours, did not breakfast before eleven o'clock, and was rarely seen in the executive office before twelve. He gave great attention to his dress, to his dinners, and gave several weeks to the study of new decorations for the White House. He devoted himself to social affairs more than any President, and so through these small graces won the praise of a narrow little circle which esteems club life as the beginning and ending of the world of fashion and affairs. Very soon Mr. Arthur adopted a course which led to his political destruction. He wished to show the public that he was a great politician and a statesman. He was so overshadowed by Mr. Blaine in the Cabinet that he was uneasy until he had changed the entire Cabinet. He would have been content with the retirement of Mr. Blaine, but to have accepted his resignation only would have

been too conspicuous an evidence of his real reason, and so he made for himself a new Cabinet. He then went farther and broke with Mr. Conkling. Mr. Conkling at first supposed that when his former lieutenant had reached the Presidency of the United States through him that he now would have some influence with the new administration. He had been in the habit of patronizing Mr. Arthur, and had given him political orders for so many years that he could not imagine this pleasure-loving, easy-going man capable of rebellion. It is possible that the social influences that were called about Mr. Arthur had something to do with stimulating the vanity of this weak and inexperienced man. At any rate, it was soon after Mr. Frelinghuysen, the head of an ancient family of New Jersey, came into the State Department that Mr. Conkling was very quietly given to understand that his advice and counsel were not wanted at Washington. Mr. Arthur pursued this course throughout his term of office, but he never succeeded in raising his administration to the dignity of even criticism. It was so mild, so gentle, and so given to the small graces of a narrow, pleasure-going existence that the public was content to wait for the end without taking the trouble to think much about it. It was in reality acting only as the executor of a trust left in its hands by the death of General Garfield.

There was some amusement created by the attempt to remodel Mr. Blaine's South American policy. It was only a few weeks after Mr. Blaine's retirement that a reversal of this policy came. Even the invitations to the Peace Conference were withdrawn upon the plea that it would be better to have the opinion of Congress before assuming the responsibility of seeking to establish more intimate relations with the other Republics on this continent. Mr. Blaine's negotiations in the interests of peace between Peru and Chili were abruptly terminated. Mr. William Henry Trescott and Mr. Walker Blaine, who had been sent down as special envoys, were recalled. The plans for negotiating treaties of reciprocity were at once modified. The State Department, under the Arthur administration, continued to enter upon the record a negation to everything that had been proposed during the few months of the Garfield administration.

This reversal of the policy of Mr. Blaine without any reason save the inability to carry it out or the jealousy of its author irritated Mr. Blaine. He made a sharp rejoinder in a letter addressed to the President, in which he pointed out the good effects that would have resulted from the peace policy, and hinted at the possible results that would have been accomplished later in commercial directions.

Mr. Blaine's points, however, were more fully brought out in an article prepared by him on the subject of "The foreign policy of the Garfield administration," which was written during the following summer. This article embraces the whole range of that policy, and is the best exposition of it that has been printed. No perusal of any series of documents can give so clear an idea as this summary upon the part of the author himself. Mr. Blaine said :

"The foreign policy of President Garfield's administration had two principal objects in view : First, to bring about peace and prevent future wars in North and South America ; second, to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States by supplying those fabrics in which we are abundantly able to compete with the manufacturing nations of Europe.

"To attain the second object the first must be accomplished. It would be idle to attempt the development and enlargement of our trade with the countries of North and South America if that trade were liable at any unforeseen moment to be violently interrupted by such wars, as that which for three years has engrossed and almost engulfed Chili, Peru, and Bolivia ; as that which was barely averted by the friendly offices of the United States between Chili and the

Argentine Republic; as that which has been postponed by the same good offices, but not decisively abandoned, between Mexico and Guatemala; as that which is threatened between Brazil and Uruguay; or as that which is even now foreshadowed between Brazil and the Argentine States. Peace is essential to commerce, is the very life of honest trade, is the solid basis of international prosperity, and yet there is no part of the world where a resort to arms is so prompt as in the Spanish-American Republics. Those Republics have grown out of the old colonial divisions, formed from capricious grants to favorites by royal charter, and their boundaries are, in many cases, not clearly defined, and consequently afford the basis of continual disputes breaking forth too often in open war. To induce the Spanish-American States to adopt some peaceful mode of adjusting their frequently recurring contentions was regarded by the late President as one of the most honorable and useful ends to which the diplomacy of the United States could contribute, useful especially to those States by securing permanent peace within all their borders, and useful to our own country by affording a coveted opportunity for extending its commerce and securing enlarged fields for our products and manufactures.

“Instead of friendly intervention here and there, patching up a treaty between two countries to-day,

securing a truce between two others to-morrow, it was apparent to the President that a more comprehensive plan should be adopted if war were to cease in the Western Hemisphere. It was evident that certain European powers had in the past been interested in promoting strife between the Spanish-American countries, and might be so interested in the future; while the interests of the United States were wholly and always on the side of peace with all of our American neighbors and peace between them all.

“It was therefore the President’s belief that mere incidental and partial adjustments failed to attain the desired end, and that a common agreement of peace permanent in its character and continental in its extent should if possible be secured. To effect this end it had been resolved before the fatal shot of July 2d, to invite all of the independent governments of North and South America to meet in a Peace Conference at Washington. The date to be assigned was the 15th of March, 1882, and the invitations would have been issued directly after the New England tour which the President was not permitted to make. Nearly six months later, on November 22d, President Garfield’s successor issued the invitations for the Peace Congress, in the same spirit and scope and with the same limitations and restrictions that had been originally designed. As

soon as the project was understood in South America, it received a most cordial approval, and some of the countries not following the leisurely routine of diplomatic correspondence made haste to accept the invitation. There can be no doubt that within a brief period all the nations invited would have formally signified their readiness to attend the Congress, but in six weeks after the invitations had gone to the several countries, President Arthur caused them to be recalled or at least suspended. The subject was afterward referred to Congress in a special message in which the President ably vindicated his constitutional right to assemble the Peace Conference, but expressed a desire that the legislative department of the Government should give an opinion upon the expediency of the step before the Congress should be allowed to convene. Meanwhile the nations that had received the invitation were in an embarrassing situation, for after they were asked by the President to come they found that the matter had been reconsidered and referred to another department of the Government. The change was universally accepted as a practical though indirect abandonment of the project, for it was not from the first probable that Congress would take any action whatever upon the subject.

“ The good-will and welcome of the invitation would

be destroyed by a long debate in the Senate and the House, in which the question would necessarily become intermingled with personal party politics, and the project be ultimately wrecked from the same cause and by the same process that destroyed the usefulness of the Panama Congress, more than fifty years ago, when Mr. Clay was Secretary of State. The time for Congressional action would have been after the Peace Congress had closed its labors. The Conference could not agree upon anything that would be binding upon the United States unless assented to as a treaty by the Senate or enacted into a law by both branches. The assembling of the Peace Conference, as President Arthur so well demonstrated, was not in derogation of any right or prerogative of the Senate or House. The money necessary for the expenses of the Conference, which would not have exceeded \$10,000, could not with reason or propriety have been refused by Congress. If it had been refused, patriotism and philanthropy would have promptly supplied it.

“The Spanish-American States are in special need of the help which the Peace Conference could afford them. They require external pressure to keep them from war. When at war they require external pressure to bring them to peace. Their outbreaks are not only frequent, but are sanguinary and sometimes

cruel. The inhabitants of those countries are a brave people belonging to a race that have always been brave, descendants of men that have always been proud. They are of hot temper, quick to take affront, ready to avenge a wrong, whether real or fancied. They are at the same time generous and chivalrous, and though tending for years past to estrangement and alienation from us, they would promptly respond to any advance made by the great Republic of the North, as they have for two generations termed our Government. The moral influence upon the Spanish-American people of such an international assembly as the Peace Congress, called by the invitation and meeting under the auspices of the United States, would have proved beneficent and far-reaching. It would have raised the standard of their civilization. It would have turned their attention to the things of peace; and the continent whose undeveloped wealth amazed Humboldt might have had a new life given to it, a new and splendid career opened to its inhabitants.

“Such friendly interventions as the proposed Peace Congress; and as the attempt to restore peace between Chili and Peru, fall within the line of both duty and interest on the part of the United States. Nations, like individuals, often require the aid of a common friend to restore relations of amity. Peru and Chili

are in need of a wise and powerful mediator. Though exhausted by war, they are unable to make peace, and unless they shall be aided by the intervention of a friend, political anarchy and social disorder will come to the conquered, and evils scarcely less serious to the conqueror. Our own Government cannot take the ground that it will not offer friendly intervention to settle troubles between American countries, unless at the same time it freely concedes to European Governments the right of such intervention, and thus consents to a practical destruction of the Monroe Doctrine, and an unlimited increase of European and monarchical influence on this continent. The late special envoy to Chili and Peru, Mr. Trescott, gives it as his deliberate and published conclusion that if the instructions under which he set out upon his missions had not been revoked, peace between those angry belligerents would have been established as the result of his labors, necessarily to the great benefit of the United States.

“If our Government does not resume its efforts to secure peace in South America, some European Government will be forced to perform that friendly office. The United States cannot play between nations the part of the dog in the manger. We must perform the duty of humane intervention ourselves or give way to foreign Governments that are willing

to accept the responsibility of the great trust, and secure the enhanced influence and numberless advantages resulting from such a philanthropic and beneficent course.

“A most significant and important result would have followed the assembling of the Peace Congress. A friendship and an intimacy would have been established between the States of North and South America which would have demanded and enforced a closer commercial connection. A movement in the near future, as the legitimate outgrowth of assured peace, would, in all probability, have been a great commercial conference at the City of Mexico or Rio Janeiro whose deliberations would be directed to a better system of trade on the two continents.

“To such a conference the Dominion of Canada could properly be asked to send representatives, as that Government is allowed by Great Britain a very large liberty in regulating its commercial relations. In the Peace Congress to be composed of independent Governments the Dominion could not have taken any part, and was consequently not invited. From this trade conference of the two continents the United States could hardly have failed to gain great advantages. At present the commercial relations of this country with the Spanish-American countries, both

continental and insular, are unsatisfactory and unprofitable ; indeed, those relations are absolutely oppressive to the financial interests of the Government and people of the United States. In our current exchanges it requires one hundred and twenty millions to pay the balance which Spanish America brings against us every year. This amount is fifty per cent. more than the average annual product of the gold and silver mines of the United States during the past five years. This vast sum does not, of course, go to Spanish America in coin, but it goes across the ocean in coin or its equivalent to pay European countries for manufactured articles which they furnish to Spanish America, a large proportion of which should be furnished by the manufacturers of the United States.

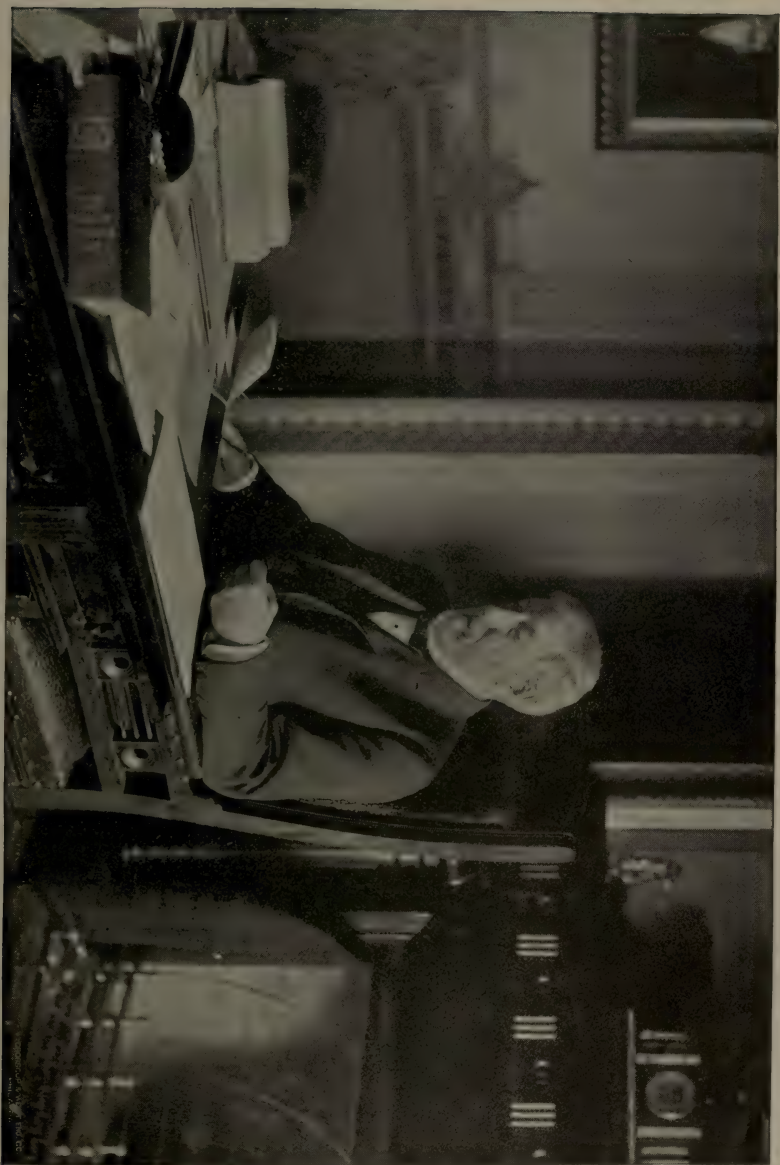
“At this point of the argument the free trader appears, and declares that our protective tariff destroys our power of competition with European countries, and that, if we will abolish protection, we shall soon have South American trade. The answer is not sufficient, for to-day there are many articles which we can send to South America and sell as cheaply as European manufacturers can furnish them. It is idle, of course, to make this statement to the genuine apostle of free trade and the implacable enemy of protection, for the great postulate of his argument,

the foundation of his creed, is that nothing can be made as cheaply in America as in Europe.

“Nevertheless, facts are stubborn, and the hard figures of arithmetic cannot be satisfactorily answered by airy figures of speech. The truth remains that the coarser descriptions of cottons and cotton prints, boots and shoes, ordinary household furniture, harness for draught animals, agricultural implements of all kinds, doors, sashes, and blinds, locks, bolts, and hinges, silverware, plated ware, wooden ware, ordinary paper and paper hangings, common vehicles, ordinary window-glass and glassware, rubber goods, coal oils, lard oils, kerosenes, white lead, lead pipe, and articles in which lead is the chief component, can be and are produced as cheaply in the United States as in any part of the world.

“The list of such articles might be lengthened by the addition of those classed as notions, but enough only are given to show that this country would, with proper commercial arrangements, export much more largely than it now does to Spanish America.

“In the trade relations of the world it does not follow that mere ability to produce as cheaply as another nation insures a division of an established market, or, indeed, any participation in it. France manufactures many articles as cheaply as England, some articles at even less cost. Portugal lies nearer



BLAINE AT WORK.

to France than to England, and the expense of transporting the French fabric to the Portuguese market is therefore less than the transportation of the English fabric, and yet Great Britain has almost a monopoly of the trade of Portugal. The same condition applies, though in a less degree, in the trade of Turkey, Syria, and Egypt, which England holds to a much greater extent than any of the other European nations that are able to produce the same fabric as cheaply. If it be said in answer that England has special trade relations by treaty with Portugal, and special obligations binding the other countries, the ready answer is that she has no more favorable position with regard to those countries than can be readily and easily acquired by the United States, with respect to all of the countries of America. That end will be reached whenever the United States desires it and wills it, and is ready to take the steps necessary to secure it.

“At present the trade with Spanish America runs so strongly in channels adverse to us that besides our inability to furnish manufactured articles we do not get the profit on our raw products that are shipped there. Our petroleum reaches most of the Spanish American points after twice crossing the Atlantic, paying often a better profit to the European middle-man who handles it than it does to the pro-

ducer of oil in the Northwestern counties of Pennsylvania. Flour and pork from the West reach Cuba by way of Spain, and though we buy and consume ninety per cent. of the total products of Cuba, almost that proportion of her purchases are made in Europe—made, of course, with money furnished directly from our pockets.

“As our exports to Spanish America grow less, as European imports constantly grow larger, the balance against us will show an annual increase of and will continue to exhaust our supply of the precious metals. We are increasing our imports from South America, and the millions we annually pay for coffee, wool, hides, guano, cinchona, caoutchouc, cabinet woods, dye woods, and other articles go for the ultimate benefit of European manufacturers, who take the gold from us and send their fabrics to Spanish America. If we could send our fabrics, our gold would stay at home and our general prosperity would be sensibly increased. But so long as we repel Spanish America, so long as we leave her to cultivate intimate relations with Europe alone, so long our trade relations will remain unsatisfactory and even embarrassing. Those countries sell to us very heavily. They buy from us very lightly. And the amount they bring us in debt each year is larger than the heaviest aggregate balance of trade we ever

had against us in the worst of times. The average balance against us for the whole world, in the five most adverse years we ever experienced, was about one hundred millions of dollars. This plainly shows that in our European exchanges there is always a balance in our favor, and that our chief deficiency arises from our maladjusted commercial relations with Spanish America. It follows that if our Spanish-American trade were placed on a better and more equitable foundation it would be almost impossible, even in years most unfavorable to us, to bring us in debt to the world.

“ With such heavy purchases as we are compelled to make in Spanish America, it could hardly be expected that we should be able to adjust the entire accounts by exports. But the balance against us of one hundred and twenty millions in gold coin is far too large, and in time of stringency is a standing menace of financial disaster. It should not be forgotten that every million dollars of products of fabrics that we sell in Spanish America is a million dollars in gold saved to our own country. The immediate profit is to the producer and exporter, but the entire country realizes a gain in the ease and affluence of the money market, which is insured by keeping our gold at home. The question involved is so large, the object to be achieved is so great that

no effort on the part of the Government to accomplish it could be too earnest or too long continued.

“It is only claimed for the Peace Congress designed under the administration of Garfield that it was an important and impressive step on the part of the United States toward closer relationship with our continental neighbors. The present tendency in those countries is toward Europe, and it is a lamentable fact that their people are not so near to us in feeling as they were sixty years ago when they threw off the yoke of Spanish tyranny. We were then a weak Republic of but ten millions, but we did not hesitate to recognize the independence of the new Governments even at the risk of war with Spain. Our foreign policy at that time was specially designed to extend our influence in the Western Hemisphere, and the statesmen of that era, the era of De Witt Clinton and the younger Adams, of Clay and Crawford, of Webster and Calhoun, of Van Buren and Benton, of Jackson and of Edward Livingston, were always courageous in the inspiring measures which they advocated for the expansion of our commercial dominion.

“Three-score years have passed. The power of the Republic, in many directions, has grown beyond all anticipation, but we have relatively lost ground in some great fields of enterprise. We have added thou-

sands of miles to our ocean front, but our commerce has fallen off, and from ardent friendship with Spanish America we have drifted into indifference if not into coldness. It is but one step further to reach a condition of positive unfriendliness, which may end in what would be equivalent to a commercial alliance against us.

“In no event could harm have resulted in the assembling of the Peace Congress. Failure was next to impossible. Success might be regarded as certain. The subject to be discussed was peace, and how it can be permanently preserved in North and South America. The labors of the Congress would have probably ended in a well-digested system of arbitration, under which all troubles between American States could be quickly, effectually, and satisfactorily adjusted. Such a consummation would have been worth a great struggle and a great sacrifice. It could have been reached without any struggle, and would have involved no sacrifice. It was within our grasp. It was ours for the asking. It would have been a signal victory of philanthropy over the selfishness of human ambition, a complete triumph of Christian principles as applied to affairs of nations. It would have reflected enduring honor on our own country, and would have imparted a new spirit and new brotherhood to all America. Nor would its in-

fluence beyond the sea have been small. The example of seventeen nations, solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization and upon the generations of men yet to come."

What was outlined in this policy as the possibility of the future was shown to have a correct and solid basis. Everything predicted by Mr. Blaine in this opinion was practically and easily carried out under the Harrison administration. This policy represents the best of Mr. Blaine. It is broad in its statesmanship, high and noble in its purpose. Briefly summarized, his policy meant the domination of this country over the entire North American continent with such trade relations between the countries of this hemisphere as to make a perfect unity throughout a chain of Republics. He expected that Canada would ultimately be annexed to this country through a voluntary movement upon its part. He favored such a policy toward her commercially as would practically force this part of North America into our hands. A union of the Republics on this continent would have represented the greatest force in modern politics. It was a blending of interests which would in the end have given the law to the

entire commercial world, and would have transferred the financial centre from London to New York. The successful outcome of the Peace Congress, eight years later, will doubtless have the beneficent results so confidently predicted by Mr. Blaine when he first sent out the invitations.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MR. BLAINE'S LITERARY WORK FOLLOWING HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE ARTHUR CABINET.—THE GREAT SUCCESS OF HIS BOOK.—HIS LITERARY HABITS.—HIS NOMINATION AT CHICAGO.

AFTER Mr. Blaine's retirement from the Arthur Cabinet he looked about for something to occupy his attention. For the first time in his life he had to consider his health. His friends were anxious concerning his condition. He was at times despondent and subject to deep depression. He began to have fears himself concerning his health. He was advised first to go to Europe for a long rest and change. This he decided against on account of certain business interests which required his attention. After giving the subject some thought, he decided upon writing the political history embracing the period of his twenty years experience in political life. The title at first suggested to him was "From Lincoln to Garfield." But it was afterward changed to *Twenty Years of Congress*. The idea of writing this book came to him one day like an inspiration, and he became so interested in it that this change of thought gave him the necessary diversion and contentment.

He was confirmed in his resolution by a conversation with General Francis A. Walker, the then Superintendent of the Census. Mr. Walker had called Mr. Blaine's attention to the fact that at the beginning of the Lincoln administration the population of the country was thirty-one millions; at the beginning of the Garfield administration the population was fifty millions. Mr. Blaine at once grasped the fact that about one-third of the entire population of the country had grown up since the war, and that the political history of that period was comparatively unknown. He saw what a great field this was, and he at once began to make plans for the writing of the book.

He gave the subject careful thought, and went over the Congressional reports during the year following his retirement to private life. He went to New York to find a publisher, and there he made an arrangement with a great subscription house in Connecticut. He planned a book of two volumes containing each six hundred pages.

He was first offered \$100,000 for the manuscript but he preferred to share in the profits of the sale. A contract was then made with him giving him a royalty. This royalty afterward netted him a much larger sum than if he had accepted the original proposition.

He began the writing of this work in the winter of 1882. When once the work was begun he pursued it as systematically as he pursued his duties in Congress. He eliminated all other considerations from his daily routine, and laid out his hours according to a fixed plan. In this work he found great satisfaction and recovered, to a great degree, his health.

Mr. Blaine before entering public life was a trained writer. In Congress he acquired great skill as a speaker, and developed an extraordinary ability for expressing himself clearly and readily. From his skill as a public speaker one would have imagined that he would have been able to dictate to a stenographer with ease. Mr. Blaine, however, when engaged in writing his book said that, on the contrary, he could only dictate those chapters of the book which took a narrative form. For the other portions he was obliged to compose pen in hand. Mr. Blaine did not believe that any work of real literary excellence could be accomplished by dictation. In writing there were three sentinels which stood guard over the brain—the two eyes and the hand were between the brain and any crude expression. These restraints had a constant tendency to check faults and to polish meritorious sentences. When a writer dictated there was no special stimulus to high effort and no restraint.

Mr. Blaine accounted for the fact that in public speaking where these three sentinels of a necessity could not stand guard, he yet was able to express himself tersely and clearly, and said that the audience acted as the restraint. He thought there was all the difference in the world in speaking to an audience and dictating to a secretary. That mysterious something known as the magnetic influence which always exists between a man who can move an audience and those addressed, is the controlling influence which shapes thoughts and forms sentences. No man could produce a real effect upon an audience without establishing this magnetic sympathy. The absence of this sympathy betrays the dull speaker. A man incapable of moving an audience could probably dictate as well as he could write. But, after all, it would be the outpouring of mere words.

Mr. Blaine said that he had never hoped to attain in his writing anything like the excellence of style reached by him in the intense excitement of public speaking. In his work upon his book he did not average over one thousand words a day. He thought that was all any man should do who aimed at a good literary style. Some days he wrote more than the thousand words, but he was always quite content if he maintained that average. When he was in the

field of mere narrative he had reached eight thousand words, but he did not believe in doing so much at one sitting.

Mr. Blaine worked very steadily on his book, and he was never more contented or in better health than at that time. He simplified his manner of living until he reached a routine as rigid as that of a college professor. He always arose at eight and breakfasted. Then he worked steadily until one o'clock. The rest of the day he devoted to reading, driving, and visiting. He always retired by eleven o'clock.

During this time Mr. Blaine never visited Congress. He had no ambition to join the row of ex-Senators and ex-members who seem to take such delight in occupying the seats on the back aisle of the two Houses of Congress. In the first year that he was at work on his book he only took a vacation of three weeks in midsummer. He was most anxious to have his history a complete and correct picture of the time of which he wrote. He bestowed as much care on the chapters which treated of dull subjects as upon the others. In a great measure he wrote from memory, though, of course, he had at hand all the authorities for verifying any of his statements. He aimed at great impartiality in his treatment of all questions, and this impartiality is nowhere more

clearly shown than in the pages devoted to a review of the tariff agitation in this country.

This book is no dull recital of mere facts, but is a picturesque story of the time. In it Mr. Blaine showed his fairness and his kindliness of spirit. His personal estimates of men throughout that period was given from the standpoint of an unprejudiced observer. He treated Mr. Conkling's position with even more than fairness. The impartial spirit shown by him in discussing the political incidents of his career surprised all of his opponents when the first chapters of his book were published.

One of the most stirring chapters in the book is his study of the joint debate between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. This is the debate which was described by Mr. Blaine when he was a young newspaper writer. Mr. Blaine thought that as a parliamentary debater Mr. Douglas never had a superior. At the outbreak of the Rebellion Mr. Douglas had a following of a million and a half of voters, men who believed in him absolutely. He was capable of inspiring a mob to the wildest of deeds. Had he not been faithful to the Union cause, the Government would have been easily overthrown. Mr. Blaine's analysis of the character of Abraham Lincoln is a very interesting character study. His knowledge and appreciation of Mr. Lin-

coln's abilities as portrayed in this book are the results of intimate personal studies.

Mr. Blaine was very particular with his manuscript. He made many changes in the forms of erasures and interlineations. He was very painstaking with the proofs. It was after the manuscript was returned to him in this form that he was the most active in making changes. He then cut out as many words as possible. It was his aim to avoid the use of superfluous words. In working on the Garfield eulogy, he cut out some three thousand words from the manuscript as it was first prepared.

He said during this period of literary work that it was almost impossible to judge of an article in manuscript. It was necessary to see it in the rigid forms of type. He was so painstaking in making changes after the proofs had once reached him that he would often call for two and three revisions. During the afternoon and evening, his drawing-room was filled with callers. Tea was served at eight o'clock, and generally Mr. Blaine would then be found surrounded by a circle engaged in discussing the current affairs at the Capital. To one of these callers at this time he said: "You have no idea how much comfort I find in living quietly and in sleeping a long number of hours. I eat a good breakfast, work in my library with my secretary five

hours, and late in the day I eat a dinner that would do credit to a young man. To have plenty of time to go about driving with my wife and family is another satisfaction."

"How rich are you?" asked a very wealthy caller one evening.

"I am richer than you," was the reply.

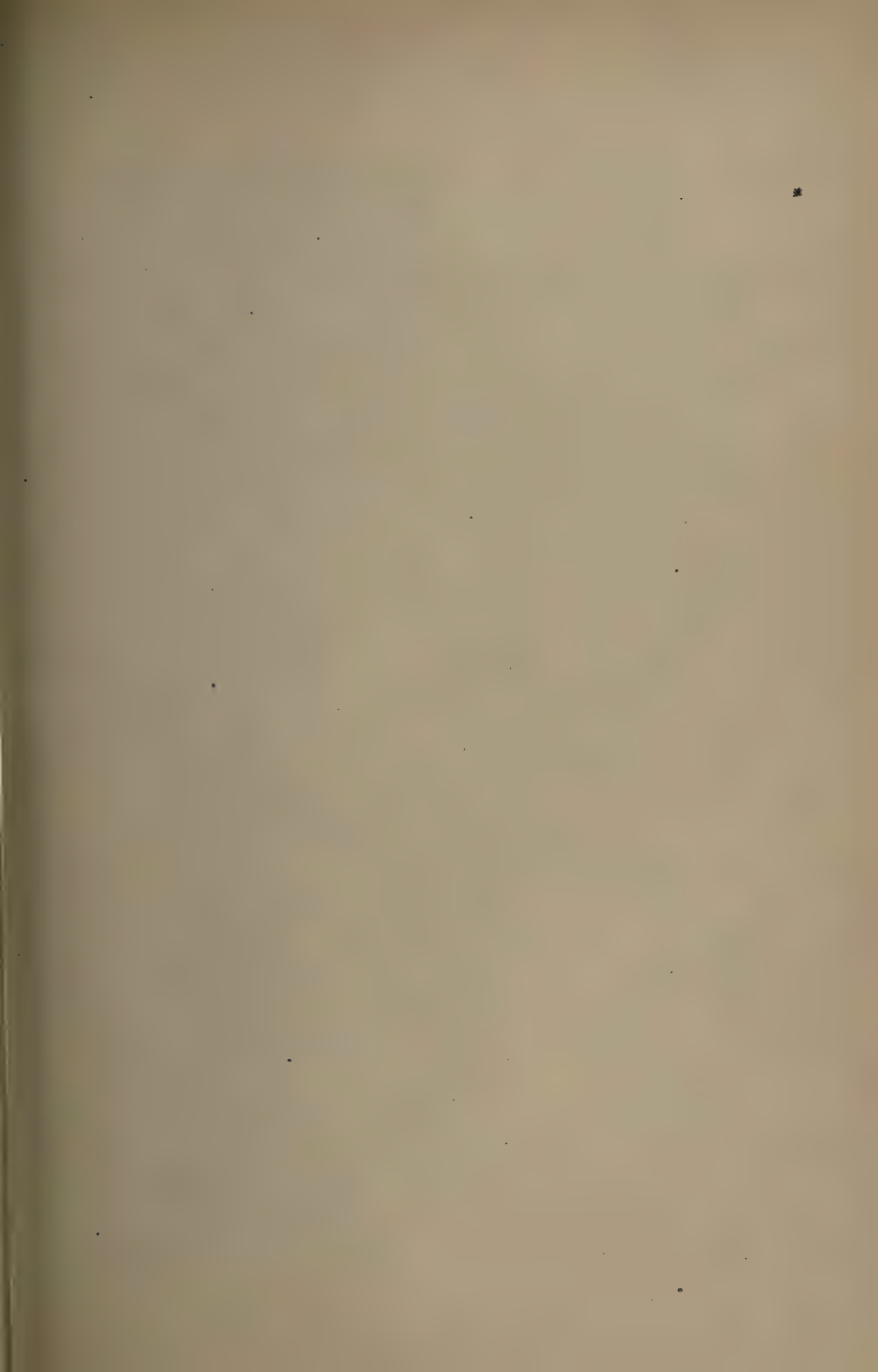
The many times millionaire visitor looked surprised as he asked, "How much?"

"I have all that I want, and you will never have that; therefore I am the richer," was the answer.

Mr. Blaine had a great many political callers in those days. He was active in asking questions but evasive in making replies concerning his political plans. Apparently he had none, although he had by no means relinquished his ambition for the Presidency. During the winter of 1883 and 1884 it was evident that he was to be the nominee of the party in the approaching Convention. Mr. Arthur had lost the support of his old friends, and his characterless administration had won for him no new ones. General Grant, who visited Washington during the latter part of the winter, became reconciled to Mr. Blaine. General Logan, who had never openly broken with him, but who had associated with Mr. Conkling as one of the stalwarts, now became intimate with Mr. Blaine. Both were

Presidential candidates, but their interests were made to harmonize. Mr. Blaine at that time did not fully believe that the Republican party was going to win. In the spring of 1884 he said, "I fear that the nomination is coming to me." When he was asked why he used the word "fear" in connection with the nomination, he replied that there was such a feeling of general dissatisfaction throughout the country with the Republican party, owing to the many former differences between its leaders, that he did not believe the Republican party could win. He showed himself to be a prophet when he said that if the Democrats should nominate some conservative Northern man they would certainly have the better chance in the coming election. It was this feeling that made him reluctant to be a candidate. He was careful to avoid the appearance of seeking the nomination. He was represented as pulling wires to secure the nomination, but in reality he was inactive and neutral up to within a very short time before the meeting of the Republican Convention at Chicago. Then he became all at once active and anxious. Stephen B. Elkins went to Chicago as his personal representative. Whitelaw Reid was another political friend who was in Chicago looking after his interests.

The Convention at Chicago proved that the Blaine Republicans had lost none of their old-time enthu-





THE PEN IS MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD.—(Cartoon.)
By permission from *Judge*.

siasm. There was a climax in this Convention of demonstration as yet unsurpassed in the history of these great gatherings. There was no real contest against Mr. Blaine. Mr. Arthur's defeat was clearly indicated on the first ballot, and Mr. Blaine's nomination came on the fourth. General John A. Logan was nominated for the Vice-Presidency, in accordance, undoubtedly, with an understanding had between these two gentlemen in Washington during the winter. This was the second Convention which had been controlled by the Blaine Republicans.

The official record of the four ballots taken in this Convention is as follows:

CANDIDATES.	1st ballot.	2d ballot.	3d ballot.	4th ballot.
James G. Blaine,	334½	349	375	541
Chester A. Arthur,	278	276	274	207
George F. Edmunds,	93	85	69	41
John A. Logan,	63½	61	53	7
John Sherman,	30	28	25	..
Joseph R. Hawley,	13	13	13	15
Robert E. Lincoln,	4	4	8	2
William T. Sherman,	2	2	2	..
Total vote,	818	818	819	813
Necessary to a choice, . .	410	410	410	407

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1884.—THE ENORMOUS ENTHUSIASM OF THE COUNTRY.—THE PERSONAL SCANDALS RENEWED.—THE CLOSENESS OF THE RESULT AND THE REASON FOR MR. BLAINE'S DEFEAT.

THE Presidential campaign of 1884 was one of the most exciting in our history. The personal enthusiasm in favor of Mr. Blaine has never been surpassed for any candidate in political campaigns. There was a series of spectacular demonstrations beginning at Mr. Blaine's home in Maine and extending like a wave over the country.

The Democrats, on the 12th of July, met in Chicago, in the same Convention hall occupied by the Republicans, and nominated Grover Cleveland of New York. Mr. Cleveland had filled the office of Governor of his State and had made a reputation for himself while Mayor of Buffalo, as a reformer. Mr. Cleveland was then a comparatively young man, being in his forty-eighth year. He was unknown in National politics, but his record made in the State of New York warranted the belief upon the part of the

party managers that he would make a strong candidate. Mr. Cleveland at that time had had no experience in National affairs. His life had been confined to a very restricted field. He had never been west of the city of Buffalo. He had visited Washington only once. He had not seen service during the war of the Rebellion. The Republicans generally did not consider him a strong candidate. He had none of the elements of character to inspire enthusiasm or great devotion. He had been a lawyer in good standing, and no one then claimed for him that he had more than average ability. It was assumed, however, that he had unusual force of character and was anxious to secure an honest administration of public affairs. Few of the Republicans thought that there could be any real contest between the experienced legislator Mr. Blaine with his great and popular following and the comparatively unknown and inexperienced New York Governor.

The Democratic situation was very much improved by two other candidates being brought out. The Prohibitionists nominated Governor St. John of Kansas, while the Greenback-Labor party of that year nominated General Benjamin F. Butler. General Butler retired from the Democratic Convention at Chicago, which he attended as a delegate, protesting against the arbitrary control of that Convention

by the representatives of "the Eastern money power." The platform accepted by him was a combination of the principles of the Labor party, the cheap-money principles of the old Greenback party with the protests against corporations and monopolies common to-day in Populist Conventions. General Butler's candidacy was never considered a serious one. It was believed by many Republicans that during the campaign he would withdraw in favor of Mr. Cleveland. General Butler possessed large means and was able to indulge in the luxury of conducting his own campaign. This he did with remarkable vigor, and had throughout the ardent support of *The Sun*, one of the most prominent and brilliant of the New York Democratic newspapers.

The campaign was noted from the first for its intensity. Associated with Mr. Cleveland was Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana. The two Western representatives of the Democratic and Republican tickets were experienced political campaigners, and they early began in the West the work of advancing the causes of their party. It was a campaign noted for its severe personalities, and for attacks upon the characters of the candidates. Mr. Blaine was subjected from the first to a renewal of all of the attacks which were made upon him before Congress and preceding the Presidential Convention of 1876. A small



ON THE PORCH AT BAR HARBOR COTTAGE.
(Blaine and Harrison families.)

section of the Republican party calling themselves Independent Republicans, who were later described as Mugwumps, bolted the nomination of Mr. Blaine and transferred their allegiance to Mr. Cleveland. This bolt was led by Mr. George William Curtis, of New York. Mr. Curtis had been a delegate to the Republican Convention in Chicago. He was criticised for remaining in the Convention after Mr. Blaine had been nominated. It has always been held that a delegate who wishes to bolt his party should retire after a nomination objectionable to him is made. His remaining in the Convention after that, is practically an assent to the ratification of the choice made in the final ballot. The Independent element of the Republican party had its principal strength in the City of New York and in the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Curtis secured very soon the influence of Henry Ward Beecher. Mr. Beecher had all his life been a Republican, and his joining the bolt led by Mr. Curtis had a certain influence on the campaign.

There had been an uneasy feeling throughout the country in business circles. The quarrels of Republican leaders had increased the tendency to independence. The Southern issues which had been made so prominent, the public now called to mind were discussed only in political campaigns. There

was an impression that many of the measures proposed for the South were in the interest of partisanship and not of right and justice.

The personal scandals circulated concerning the two leading candidates make up a most disgraceful chapter in the story of our politics. The personal abuse became so extreme that it reacted upon its authors. It is not reasonable to suppose that a vote either way was affected by the partisan stories published at this time.

Mr. Blaine was very active and took part in the campaign from the beginning to the close. He went to Bar Harbor after he had received the committee at Augusta, and it was there he prepared his letter of acceptance. In this letter he made the protection of American industries and the security of the ballot in all parts of the country the two principal issues. Mr. Blaine remained at Bar Harbor until the campaign was opened in August in Maine. The Democrats sent down a number of speakers and attempted to reduce Mr. Blaine's majority in his own State in the September election. It was thought that if the vote were reduced in his own home it would show to the country that Mr. Blaine was a weak candidate and could, therefore, be easily defeated. Mr. Blaine felt that the important part of the canvass to him personally was in his own State. He went to the prin-

incipal towns in Maine and made speeches. The audiences in that State are not much given to enthusiasm. They listen respectfully to political discussions, but rarely applaud or show signs of approval or disapproval. Mr. Blaine was then in good health and appeared after the campaign was fairly open to have confidence in the outcome. The State of Maine justified his anticipations. It gave him over twenty thousand plurality. It was understood that the vote for the State ticket in September was to be the gauge of Mr. Blaine's strength in the State. It was as large a vote as had ever been given to the State ticket. This result following the circulation in every town in the State of every form of publication, involving scandalous and personal attacks against the Republican candidate, was most gratifying to the Republican managers.

The National Committee then thought it would be well for Mr. Blaine to go through the West and to make a number of campaign speeches in the leading towns of Ohio. Ohio was to have an October election, and a victory there following a Republican success in Maine, if that could be made very decisive, would have a strong influence upon the general result. The Committee wished to employ Mr. Blaine's great popularity for the purpose of increasing the then greatly awakened enthusiasm of the masses.

No great leader ever had a higher personal compliment paid to him than one paid to Mr. Blaine from the beginning to the end of his journey. While it was at first planned to go through the State of Ohio, his journey was afterward extended to Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois, returning to New York a few days before the general election. For five weeks Mr. Blaine was in constant motion, going from town to town, making from ten to fifteen speeches a day, being greeted everywhere by great hosts of people. These gatherings were often too large for the speaker to be heard, except by the few near him, but yet all appeared to be contented with the mere sight of the Republican candidate. Everywhere he was greeted with an enthusiasm that was almost fierce in its character.

Mr. Blaine traveled in a special car. Sometimes this car was attached to regular trains, and then it would be sent on as a special by itself. It was his home and office during the five weeks' campaign. Many of his speeches were made from the platform of this car. Notwithstanding the number of speeches he made they were all varied in their form. This variation Mr. Blaine was able to accomplish by the aid of information gathered from local committeemen. This gave him the means to make correct local allusions and to apply the issues under considera-

tion to the best advantage in a particular neighborhood. The first stops made on this political tour were along the line of the New York Central Railroad, between New York and Buffalo. At every manufacturing station great crowds of workmen came with cheers and words of confidence for the candidate whom they regarded as the champion of labor interests. The greatest gatherings were at Buffalo and Rochester. The Republicans made an unusual effort at Buffalo because it was the home of the Democratic candidate. The entire city was aflame with lights the night of Mr. Blaine's arrival, decorations and bunting adorned every house and floated in the light, a wilderness of color. The streets were thronged, while great parades of political societies, marching with lights and music, were continually passing through the main thoroughfares.

The Ohio campaign was opened with a great meeting at Cleveland. The meeting here was in the public square. A stand had been built where the candidates were to make short addresses, for it was here that General Logan joined Mr. Blaine. The square was filled. The lowest estimate made at that time of the number of people who gathered in the square was one hundred thousand. There was only the merest pretense of speech-making, and certainly not over ten thousand people in this throng

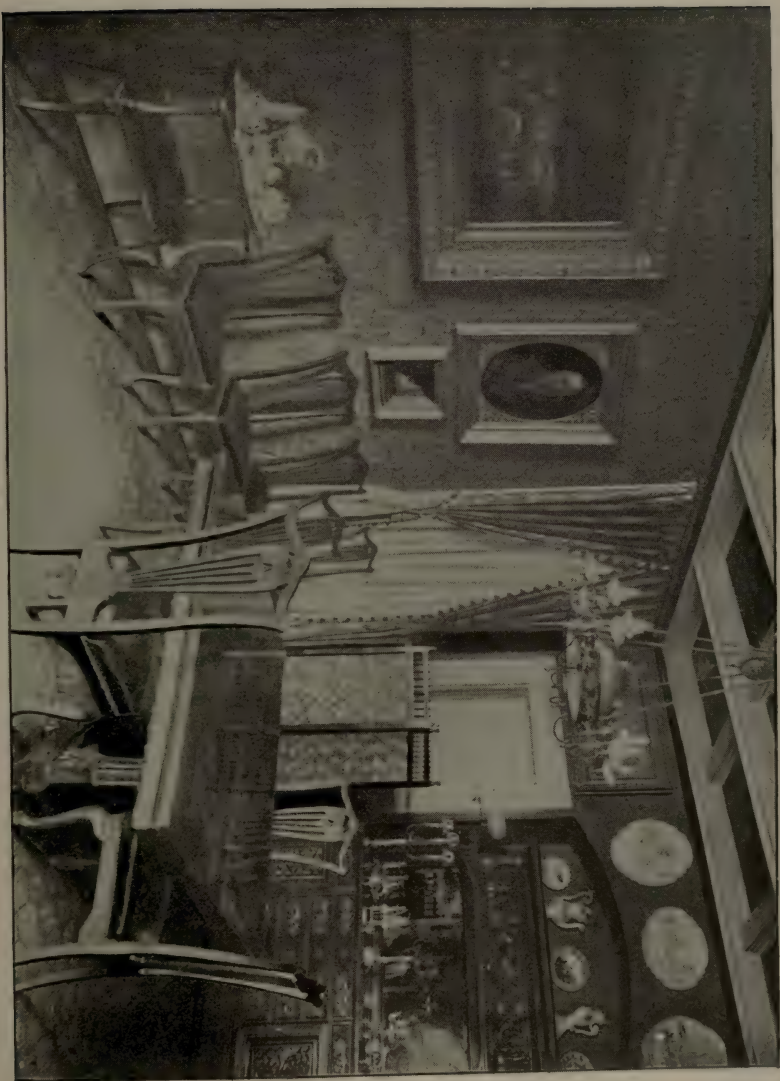
heard a single word of the political addresses. Mr. Blaine and General Logan appeared together, and afterward drove in an open carriage together through the streets, the whole town turning out to do them honor. For eighteen days Mr. Blaine made speeches in the State of Ohio, going from one prosperous city to another. The close of the campaign found him in Cincinnati. From there he took a short run down into West Virginia, but the reception there was not satisfactory to the Republican managers on account of the intensity of feeling created among Democrats, and Mr. Blaine returned after a very short visit again to the State of Ohio. It was noticed that the enthusiasm stirred up by Mr. Blaine's presence appeared to an equal degree to arouse the opposition of the Democrats. There was never a harder fought campaign. The Republican victory in the State of Ohio in the month of October was so sharp and decisive that it appeared to justify Mr. Blaine's personal appearance in the campaign.

If he had followed his own judgment he would have returned to the State of Maine after finishing the Ohio campaign. If he had adhered to this resolution it is probable that he would have been elected. In two States where elections had then been held he had materially increased the Republican vote. The independent element which had bolted Mr. Blaine did

not appear to have been a factor in Maine or Ohio. But the managers at the National Committee headquarters were flushed with the triumphs of September and October. Then there were such calls for Mr. Blaine from the Western States that they urged upon him to enter on a campaign in Indiana which was then as now a closely contested State in Presidential campaigns. Mr. Blaine yielded to this request, and later went into Michigan and Illinois. The campaign in Indiana was even more intense than that in Ohio. It was at Indianapolis that Mr. Blaine had been most bitterly attacked. His entrance in the State was the signal for the uprising of all his friends and all of his enemies. Business during the last month of this campaign was practically suspended throughout the State. In no other State in the Union were entire communities so given up to the passion of political campaigning. Even the women joined in the political parades. It was a common occurrence to see uniformed societies of women, headed by bands of female musicians, parading with energy through the mud and mire of some of the country towns, keeping in step and line with the regular political organizations. It was a fatiguing and exhausting journey. Mr. Blaine was constantly in the presence of throngs making speeches, receiving committeemen, and rarely having an oppor-

tunity to rest in quiet. He slept in towns gone mad with party enthusiasm. And it was considered a point of partisan duty to make demonstrations of welcome all through the night wherever he stopped. Notwithstanding this severe draft upon his physical strength he closed his Western campaign in Chicago in very good condition. Here he was treated to the greatest demonstration of the campaign. Chicago, being the largest city visited, turned out the largest crowd of enthusiasts. The police had to literally fight a way for Mr. Blaine and his party between the hotel and the station, a half-mile away, when he returned East. At Chicago he had planned to return to Maine. Mr. Medill, the editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, a life-long friend of Mr. Blaine and one of his most cordial supporters, advised him to go home. He said that he had done more than enough, that the country was aflame with enthusiasm for him, that the attacks upon him had only endeared him to his friends, and had appealed to the sympathies of every fair-minded man without regard to party. "The country," added Mr. Medill, "and particularly the Western country, has no great love for New York city. I would avoid that city and go directly home."

The appeals to come to New York were so persistent that Mr. Blaine did not see his way to a



DINING-ROOM IN THE BLAINE MANSION AT WASHINGTON.

refusal. Some of his most vigorous supporters were there, and when it was proposed by them to give a banquet in his honor at Delmonico's he accepted the invitation. This dinner included among its guests some of the most prominent citizens of New York, and as a necessary consequence some of its richest men. Among the guests was Mr. Jay Gould. The Democratic newspapers described the dinner the next morning as a "Belshazzar feast" where capitalists and corporation owners met to felicitate themselves upon the coming election of a President who would represent their interests and not the people's. This was asserted and published with the manifold art of sensational journalism. It was even declared with certain circumstantiality that Mr. Gould had at this dinner contributed a very large check to the campaign fund, and the public was then asked to judge between the administration Mr. Jay Gould wished to see elected and the administration proposed by the Democratic candidate. These publications may have had some effect in the city of New York, where Mr. Gould was never a popular man.

The one incident of possible ill effect was the occasion of an address made to Mr. Blaine by the Rev. Dr. Burchard. In this campaign various associations of clergymen had met and passed resolutions indorsing Mr. Blaine, and so when a deputation of

them came to the Fifth Avenue Hotel, where Mr. Blaine was stopping, and asked to be received their request was at once granted. This was the day after the banquet. Mr. Blaine had been fatigued by his long campaign and by his being up late the night before. He was not in his usual alert condition. When Mr. Burchard made his address he listened to it with apparent interest, but as he said afterward his thoughts were elsewhere and he really heard not a word of it. In this address Mr. Burchard spoke of the Democratic party as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," and because Mr. Blaine did not then and there make some response signifying his disapproval of this slur upon the Catholic church, he was held responsible for the opinion of Dr. Burchard. This phrase was printed on various small cards as Mr. Blaine's utterance, and these cards, according to trustworthy reports, were handed out to the members of various Catholic congregations throughout the country on the Sunday preceding election. It was a most ingenious method of circulating this charge. There was no way of meeting it, because the ill effect was accomplished before it was known that such methods had been employed.

Mr. Blaine left for home just before the election day. He made brief speeches on his way and stopped

for the night on the journey at Boston. He was in Augusta the morning of election day.

Mr. Blaine did not learn of the evil effect sought to be produced by Dr. Burchard's address until just before he left New York. At New Haven, to the inquiry of some one in the audience concerning his responsibility for the sentiment expressed by Dr. Burchard, Mr. Blaine said :

"I am sure that I am the last man in the United States who would make a disrespectful allusion to another man's religion. The United State guarantees freedom of religious opinion, and before the law and under the Constitution the Protestant and the Catholic and the Hebrew stand entitled to absolutely the same recognition and the same protection (loud cheering) ; and if disrespectful allusion is here to be made against the religion of any man, as I have said, I am the last man to make it ; though Protestant by conviction and connected with a Protestant church, I should esteem myself of all men the most degraded if, under any pressure or under any temptation, I could in any presence make a disrespectful allusion to that ancient faith in which my mother lived and died."

This should have been enough to have satisfied any one, but this answer came too late to reach the people who had been influenced by the first declaration.

Mr. Blaine at no time during the campaign made any reflections upon the character of the Democratic candidate. He noticed in no way any of the scandals charged against Mr. Cleveland. He discountenanced their use, and in the discussion of the issues of the day avoided, so far as he could, personalities of all kinds.

As it proved, the vote of the State of New York decided the Presidential contest in favor of Mr. Cleveland. The margin was so narrow that for several days the result was considered doubtful, and so doubtful that it was feared that we would have again a contested election as in 1876. The actual plurality of Mr. Cleveland in the State of New York was only a little over eleven hundred. The result was a surprise even to the Democrats, as the general enthusiasm through the country for Mr. Blaine had led nearly every one to expect his election. There were a great many factors which contributed at the end to his loss of the State of New York and consequently the loss of the election. In the first place, the Prohibition candidate polled over forty thousand votes in the State; nearly all of these votes came from the Republican party. Then the Independents, led by Mr. Curtis and Mr. Beecher, had been supported throughout the campaign by the most prominent New York newspapers. The New York *Tri-*



MR. BLAINE'S LIBRARY IN HIS WASHINGTON HOME.

bune and *The Mail and Express* were almost the only ones of the great New York newspapers which supported Mr. Blaine. The opposition of such a large portion of the press of New York had its influence. General Butler polled more than enough votes to defeat Mr. Blaine. Mr. Blaine believed that some of these votes given in the city of New York for General Butler were deflected from the credit of General Butler, where they availed nothing, and were transferred by the Democratic managers, who had control of the party machinery in the city of New York, to the credit of Mr. Cleveland. This was an opinion which he expressed just after the election, when he was laboring under the disappointment of defeat. This supposition on his part never was confirmed by any form of official evidence. The country generally accepted the result as a Democratic victory. And after the first few days no one questioned further the result of the election.

When the official returns were published the closeness of the result was further demonstrated. Mr. Blaine received 4,851,981 votes, while Mr. Cleveland received 4,874,986 votes. The vote in favor of Mr. Cleveland over that received by Mr. Blaine was only twenty-six one-hundredths of one per cent. In the Electoral College Mr. Cleveland received two hun-

dred and nineteen votes to one hundred and eighty votes cast for Mr. Blaine.

Mr. Blaine was very much disappointed. The fatigue and weariness of the long campaign preceding the climax of defeat made him ill. After a few days he became rested and accepted the result with his customary fortitude. Upon the 18th of November he made an address to the citizens of Augusta, in which he spoke of the campaign and its results. In this speech he spoke of the undue influence of the South in politics, and the Democratic papers afterward said that these expressions of opinion concerning the South were the results of Mr. Blaine's personal disappointment. They called attention to the fact that he had not made the Southern issue a prominent one during the campaign. Mr. Blaine during the campaign had devoted most of his speeches to the issue of protection, because he was nearly always speaking in manufacturing centres, and the Southern issue at that time did not appear to him a subject which would interest his audiences. There is nothing that he said at Augusta that indicated any change of opinion or any new view upon his part of the evil results of Southern domination in National affairs. He returned only to a free expression of opinions frequently uttered by him in presenting the Southern question in Congress.

The portion of his speech which came back to the Southern question was the last public utterance of Mr. Blaine upon this distinct issue in our politics.

In the course of his address he said :

“The result of the election, my friends, will be regarded in the future, I think, as extraordinary. The Northern States, leaving out the cities of New York and Brooklyn from the count, sustained the Republican cause by a majority of more than 400,000—almost half a million, indeed—of the popular vote. The cities of New York and Brooklyn threw their great strength and influence with the solid South, and were the decisive element which gave to that section the control of the National Government. Speaking now not at all as a defeated candidate, but simply as a loyal and devoted American, I think the transfer of the political power of the Government to the South is a great National misfortune. It is a misfortune because it introduces an element which cannot insure harmony and prosperity to the people, because it introduces into a Republic the rule of a minority. The first instinct of an American is equality—equality of right, equality of privilege, equality of political power—that equality which says to every citizen, ‘Your vote is just as good, just as potential, as the vote of any other citizen.’ That cannot be said to-day in the United States.

“The course of affairs in the South has crushed out the political power of more than 6,000,000 American citizens, and has transferred it by violence to others. Forty-two Presidential electors are assigned to the South on account of the colored population, and yet the colored population, with more than 1,100,000 legal votes, have been unable to choose a single elector. Even in those States where they have a majority of more than a hundred thousand they are deprived of free suffrage, and their rights as citizens are scornfully trodden under foot. The eleven States that comprised the Rebel Confederacy had, by the census of 1880, 7,500,000 of white population and 5,300,000 colored population. The colored population, almost to a man, desire to support the Republican party, but by a system of cruel intimidation and by violence and murder, whenever violence and murder are thought necessary, they are absolutely deprived of all political power. If the outrage stopped there, it would be bad enough; but it does not stop there, for not only is the negro population disfranchised, but the power which rightfully and constitutionally belongs to it is transferred to the white population, enabling the white population of the South to exert an Electoral influence far beyond that exerted by the same number of white people in the North.

“To illustrate just how it works to the destruction of all fair elections, let me present to you five States in the late Confederacy and five loyal States of the North, possessing in each section the same number of Electoral votes. In the South the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina have in the aggregate forty-eight Electoral votes. They have 2,800,000 white people, and over 3,000,000 colored people. In the North the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and California have likewise in the aggregate forty-eight Electoral votes, and they have a white population of 5,600,000, or just double the five Southern States which I have named. These Northern States have practically no colored population. It is therefore evident that the white men in those Southern States by usurping and absorbing the rights of the colored men are exerting just double the political power of the white men in the Northern States. I submit, my friends, that such a condition of affairs is extraordinary, unjust, and derogatory to the manhood of the North. Even those who are vindictively opposed to negro suffrage will not deny that if Presidential electors are assigned to the South by reason of the negro population that population ought to be permitted free suffrage in the election. To deny that clear proposition is to affirm

that a Southern white man in the Gulf States is entitled to double the political power of a Northern white man in the Lake States. It is to affirm that a Confederate soldier shall wield twice the influence in the Nation that a Union soldier can, and that a perpetual and constantly increasing superiority shall be conceded to the Southern white man in the Government of the Union. If that be quietly conceded in this generation it will harden into custom, until the badge of inferiority will attach to the Northern white man as odiously as ever Norman noble stamped it upon Saxon churl.

“This subject is of deep interest to the laboring men of the North. With the Southern Democracy triumphant in their States and in the Nation, the negro will be compelled to work for just such wages as the whites may decree; wages which will amount, as did the supplies of the slaves, to a bare subsistence, equal in cash to perhaps thirty-five cents per day, if averaged over the entire South. The white laborer in the North will soon feel the distinctive effect of this upon his own wages. The Republicans have clearly seen from the earliest days of reconstruction that wages in the South must be raised to a just recompense of the laborer or wages in the North ruinously lowered, and the party have steadily worked for the former result. The reverse influence

will now be set in motion, and that condition of affairs produced which years ago Mr. Lincoln warned the free laboring men of the North would prove hostile to their independence, and would inevitably lead to a ruinous reduction of wages. A mere difference of the color of the skin will not suffice to maintain an entirely different standard in wages of contiguous and adjacent States, and the voluntary will be compelled to yield to the involuntary. So completely have the colored men in the South been already deprived by the Democratic party of their constitutional and legal rights as citizens of the United States that they regard the advent of that party to National power as the signal of their enslavement, and are affrighted because they think all legal protection for them is gone.

“ Few persons in the North realize how completely the chiefs of the Rebellion wield the political power which has triumphed in the late election. It is a portentous fact that the Democratic Senators who come from the States of the late Confederacy, all—and I mean all without a single exception—personally participated in the Rebellion against the National Government. It is still a more significant fact that in those States no man who was loyal to the Union, no matter how strong a Democrat he may be to-day, has the slightest chance of political promotion. The

one great avenue to honor in that section is the record of zealous service in the war against the Government. It is certainly an astounding fact that the section in which friendship for the Union in the day of its trial and agony is still a political disqualification should be called now to rule over the Union. All this takes place during the lifetime of the generation that fought the war, and elevates into practical command of the American Government the identical men who organized for its destruction and plunged us into the bloodiest contest of modern times.

“I have spoken of the South as placed by the late election in possession of the Government, and I mean all that my words imply. The South furnished nearly three-fourths of the Electoral votes that defeated the Republican party, and they will step to the command of the Democrats as unchallenged and as unrestrained as they held the same position for thirty years before the war.

“Gentlemen, there cannot be political inequality among the citizens of a free Republic; there cannot be a minority of white men in the South ruling a majority of white men in the North. Patriotism, self-respect, pride, protection for person and safety for country all cry out against it. The very thought of it stirs the blood of men who inherit equality from the Pilgrims who first stood on Plymouth Rock, and

from liberty-loving patriots who came to the Delaware with William Penn. It becomes the primal question of American manhood. It demands a hearing and a settlement, and that settlement will vindicate the equality of American citizens in all personal and civil rights. It will, at least, establish the equality of white men under the National Government, and will give to the Northern man, who fought to preserve the Union as large a voice in its government as may be exercised by the Southern man who fought to destroy the Union.

“The contest just closed utterly dwarfs the fortunes and fates of the candidates, whether successful or unsuccessful. Purposely—I may say instinctively—I have discussed the issues and consequences of that contest without reference to my own defeat, without the remotest reference to the gentleman who is elevated to the Presidency. Toward him personally I have no cause for the slightest ill-will, and it is with cordiality I express the wish that his official career may prove gratifying to himself and beneficial to the country, and that his administration may overcome the embarrassments which the peculiar source of its power imposes upon it from the hour of its birth.”

CHAPTER XXX.

THE TRIP TO EUROPE.—THE PRINCIPAL INCIDENTS OF THE YEAR'S VISIT.—THE ILLNESS AT MILAN WHICH LEAD TO THE FORMAL DECLARATION OF WITHDRAWAL AT FLORENCE.—THE PEREMPTORY DECLINATION OF THE PRESIDENCY AND THE REASONS THEREFOR.

MR. BLAINE, accompanied by his wife and his two daughters, Margaret and Harriet, and Miss Dodge, went to Europe in the spring of 1887. They went directly to England. They were met on landing at Southampton by the United States Consul and a party of friends. Mr. Blaine went to London, where he spent several weeks. He was then in a very fair condition of health. He already knew the character of the malady from which he suffered. He had been told by his physicians that he must exercise great care and avoid excitement as much as possible. He came to Europe for the purpose of avoiding politics. He wished to be free from the criticisms and comments of the politicians. During every preceding campaign of his late career his movements had been so carefully watched and his

desires made so much the subject of exaggeration that he wished to be free. In Europe he declined even to discuss American politics during the first few months after his arrival. He had not at that time wholly renounced his ambition and wish to become President. As Mr. Blaine came to London in no official capacity he was not presented to any of the great dignitaries. As a distinguished citizen of America he was invited to all of the leading entertainments of London, and in that way saw a number of the leading personages of the day. He did not then meet any members of the English royal family, but was present at a garden party at Buckingham Palace given by the Queen. There he saw the Queen and the leading members of the reigning family of England. Mr. Blaine was very observant of and interested in the character of the prominent people of England. He met the then Prime Minister, the Marquis of Salisbury, in his own house, and at nearly the same time met Mr. Gladstone even more intimately. Mr. Blaine was a frequent visitor at the Houses of Parliament. The Irish members at first attempted to make a good deal of him, but he avoided mingling in their politics, as he did in politics at home. T. P. O'Connor, the leading Irish member, was the only one of the representatives with whom Mr. Blaine had much to do. Mr. Blaine

thought that Mr. Gladstone was the greatest accession to the Irish cause, and he then expressed confidence that if Mr. Gladstone should live long enough he and he alone would be able to work out a successful plan for home rule in Ireland.

The debates in the House of Parliament are very different from the debates in our House, on account of the presence of Ministers on the floor. Mr. Blaine was asked at the time that he was making this close observation of the methods of procedure in the House of Commons if he did not think it would be a good idea for us to have members of our Cabinet with seats in our House of Representatives; if he did not think it would give more life and character to the debates to have the representatives of the various branches of the administration on the floor each day for the purpose of explaining or, if need be, defending their course. Could they not be held to a stricter accountability, and would it not necessitate the selection of stronger men than are often placed in the Cabinet by a President?

He replied that he saw nothing in the British system to commend itself for adoption in our House. The theory of our government is different. It was the intention of the authors of the Constitution to keep the three branches of the Government, the executive, legislative, and the judicial, as separate and

distinct as possible. This had been our policy, and any change in the direction proposed would result in a contrary effect from what was suggested. Instead of the executive authority being held to a stricter accountability by such a course, he was clearly of the opinion that it would extend the power of the executive to such an extent that it might soon coerce Congress.

The presence and mingling of Cabinet officers in the debates of the House, with the powers of patronage which they have at their disposal, would produce an undue influence. A Cabinet officer would not be on a footing of equality with the other members. He was certain that no such policy would ever prevail in this country.

When Mr. Blaine left London first he went on a visit to Mr. Carnegie in Scotland. Here he appeared to regain all of the health and vigor of ten years ago. He was out doors nearly every day, and endured the longest of rides without fatigue. From Scotland he went through Ireland, avoiding there any public reception, and then crossed from Queenstown, through England, via Queensboro Flushing, to the mouth of the Rhine. He spent a short time in the Rhine country, and then made quite a long stop at the fashionable watering-place, Homburg.

It was here that he met the Prince of Wales. The

Prince heard of his presence there, and first invited him to lunch. He became very much interested in him, and had him come and see him a number of times. The Prince was very curious about America, and he asked many questions of Mr. Blaine. Mr. Chauncey Depew was in Homburg at the same time. He, too, became acquainted with the Prince, and was also his guest from time to time.

It was noted there as a curious thing that the Prince never invited the two together on the same day. He found them both such agreeable conversationalists that he did not care to have them together so that he would have to divide his attention.

From this place Mr. Blaine went to Vienna and afterward to Budapest. He was especially charmed with the Hungarian capital. He did not appear to take much interest in Vienna, and made only a short stay there.

He came back to Paris during the fall, and remained there until Mr. Cleveland sent in his famous tariff message to Congress. Mr. Blaine saw at once what an opportunity there was for the Republican party, and he at once took steps to make the tariff issue the coming issue of the campaign. Instead of writing a letter to some one of his prominent friends, he sat down and prepared his views in the form of an interview. He wrote himself both the questions and

answers of this interview, and when he had completed his notes gave it to Mr. Smalley, of the *New York Tribune*, who was in Paris at that time. This was cabled to America, where the publication was considered by many as the positive indication that Mr. Blaine was again to be a candidate.

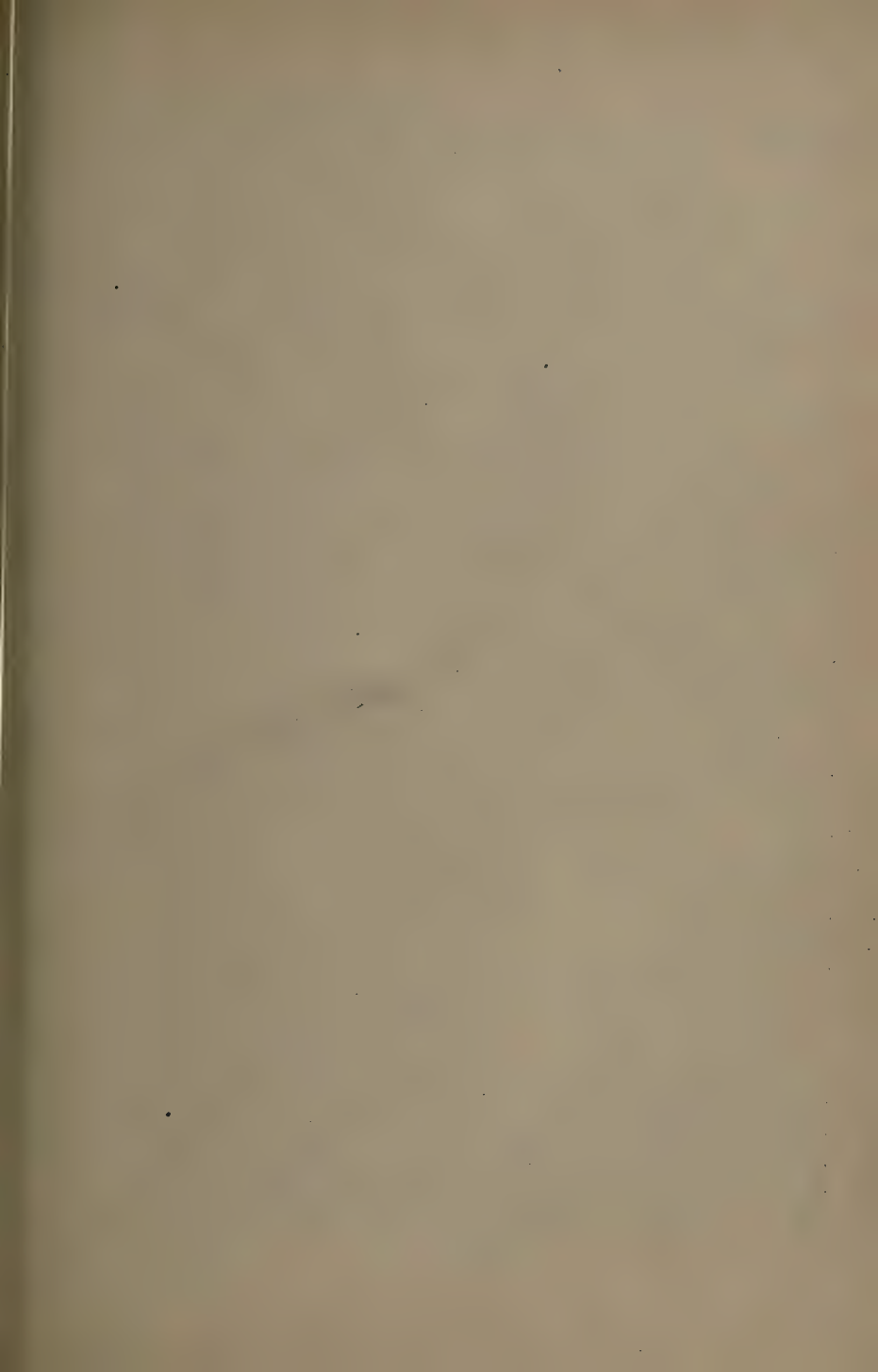
During the early part of the winter he left Paris to spend the winter in Italy. It was in going through the Alps that he caught cold through having to spend the night in an unheated railway compartment. His cold led to a severe illness. It was the beginning of the series of attacks which closed his life. After recovering from this attack he went to Florence. He remained there in seclusion for nearly three weeks, seeing no one, and it was during this seclusion that he prepared his letter of withdrawal.

In Rome, where he went later, he was conspicuous for a few weeks in the gay society of that capital. He again appeared to be in good health and good spirits. It was reported at the time that he was presented to the Pope, but this was untrue. This report was based upon the fact that he was present in the Vatican one day when the Pope received a deputation of pilgrims. Mr. Blaine went there for the purpose of seeing him, and observed him, as would any tourist, from a respectful distance. The only reigning sovereign of Europe to whom he was presented

was the King of Italy. King Umberto impressed Mr. Blaine as being very democratic and as possessing extraordinary qualities as a business man. He always spoke of him as the business King.

At Florence Mr. Blaine made up his mind that his health would not permit his becoming again a candidate for the Presidency. The illness which was so prolonged at Milan told him that his only hope to prolong his life was to live as quietly as possible. It is fair to assume that he kept to himself the full knowledge of his serious condition, because his resolution to retire was not fully approved by his family. At Florence he said, without giving fully his private reasons of health, and in further explanation of his determination : " I hold that I have no right to be a candidate again. A man who has once been the candidate of his party and is defeated owes it to his party to withdraw, and not be a candidate the second time. More than this, there is another plain reason for my withdrawing. I could not go through the burden and fatigue of another Presidential canvass, such a one as the canvass of the last campaign. To accept a nomination and to do less than before would be impossible. It would look as if I had no faith myself in the success of the party."

He had enjoyed his European visit in a moderate degree, but he would have preferred, after the first





MR. BLAINE AT SIXTY-TWO.
At Bar Harbor—Retired from Public Life.

six months, to be at home. He was willing, however, to defer to the pleasure and profit that his daughters were deriving from the visit to prolonging his stay. He decided, when he first went away, not to return until after the Republican Nominating Convention of 1888. In his expression of views at Florence, Mr. Blaine indicated no preference for any candidate. He was tempted in many ways to make a favorable response to the request for him to run again. He was told that he need do nothing. He could live quietly at his home at Bar Harbor, Maine, and not even make a speech or answer a letter. The sentiment in the party had so crystallized in his favor that he would be nominated on the first ballot in the approaching Convention. Mr. Cleveland's tariff message had alarmed the country, and the Republican party could surely elect him. To this Mr. Blaine said, in clear and explicit language: "I could not go through another contest even with the certainty of a Presidency at the end of it. The struggle is too great, and there is nothing in life worth such a contest."

This declaration was generally regarded in America as definite. Mr. Blaine's health was apparently good enough to warrant his being a candidate, and so his friends in America thought that the reason that he withdrew was on account of his dislike to undergo

another year of such fierce personal attack as had been waged on him four years before.

It was at Florence, in the course of a general conversation upon Europe, that Mr. Blaine expressed himself upon the habit of certain Americans making their home in foreign countries. He said: "I do not understand how Americans, unless they are called over here on business, can be contented to settle down in Europe without any aim or object beyond that of getting into foreign society or being taken up by some of the hangers-on of foreign courts. These people are in exile and do not appear to understand that they are practically banished. They lead lazy lives and amount to nothing. They end in losing their own nationality and do not acquire that of any other country. They lose their chance of becoming some one at home and never succeed in becoming anything over here. At best they are only tolerated in foreign society, and rarely, if ever, become intimate therewith. It is especially cruel upon their children to be brought up in such an aimless and characterless life."

Just before leaving Florence Mr. Blaine said to a visitor: "You have no idea what a relief it is to me to think that I am now out of the canvass, and that when I come back to New York in the summer I shall not be going back there to face reception after

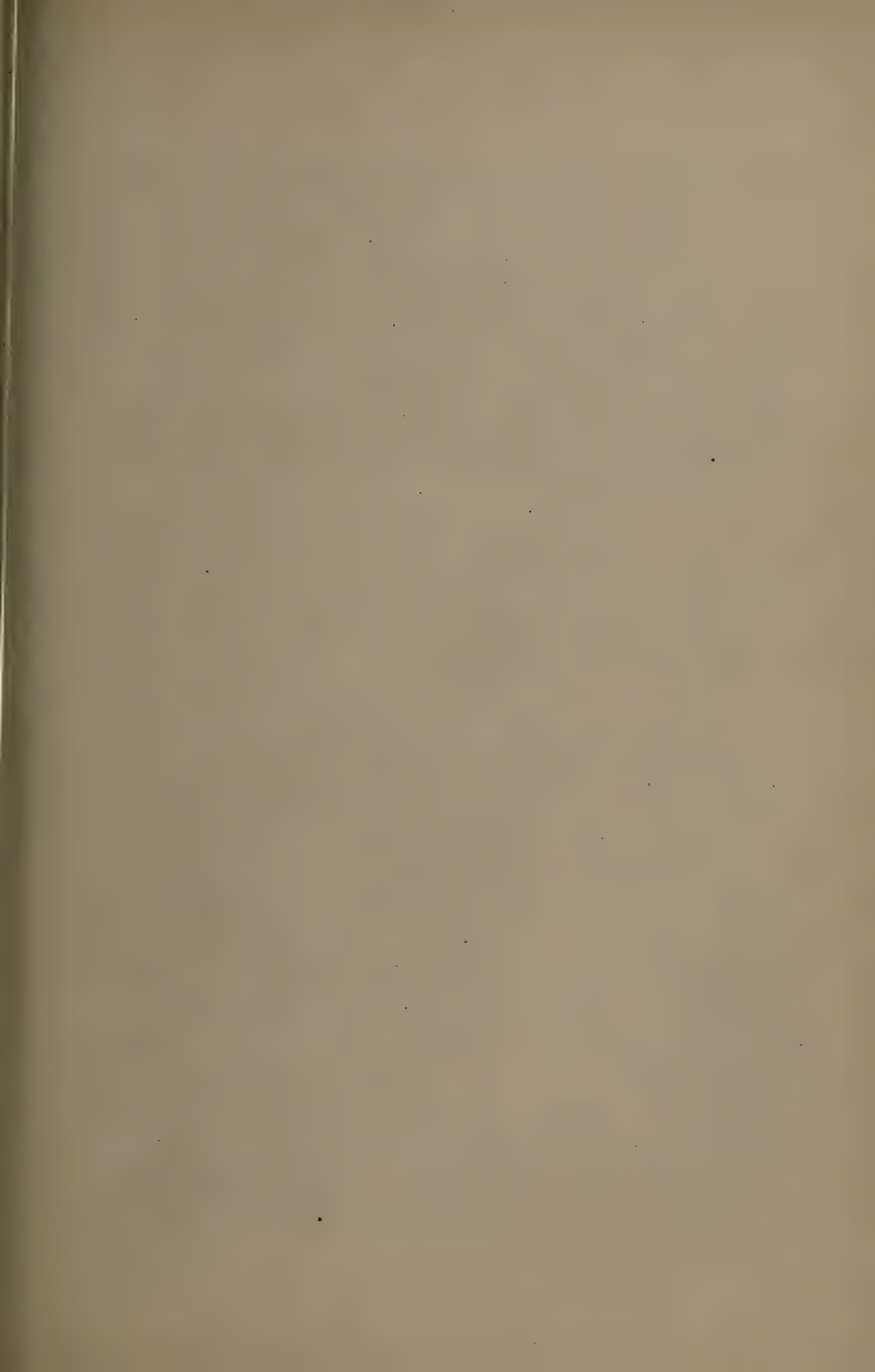
reception, and to enter into the turmoil and excitement of a political canvass. I can now come back quietly after the Convention has once decided the result and enjoy my own life in my own way, free, I hope, from further criticism or comment."

Mr. Blaine's letter from Florence, and the reports of his private opinions, which were freely cabled to America at that time, were very convincing to the majority of the American public. Mr. Blaine's enemies, however, who never would allow that he could do anything without an ulterior motive, regarded these frank utterances as only so many bits of strategy in the direction of another campaign. Mr. Blaine's attitude during this year, from first to last, was one of the most positive sincerity. He had a passionate love of life. Nothing depressed him so much as the thought of illness, and his condition at that time is the best guarantee of his sincerity. From the attitude taken at Florence he never wavered. When he returned to Paris, in the spring of 1888, he found that the disappointment in the United States was so great over his resolution not to be a candidate that there was a movement to make him a candidate whether he wished to be or not. It was to meet this movement that Mr. Blaine wrote his letter to Mr. Whitelaw Reid. In this letter he repeated as clearly and as explicitly as he could his

decision. He said then in private conversation that no consideration now could tempt him, as he had pledged his honor and good faith to the public not to be a candidate. After that he said : " If I should change my mind every one of the criticisms of my enemies would be fully justified." He was very well at Paris and appeared to have recovered from the evil effects of his illness in Italy. He drove about in the Bois de Boulogne nearly every day, interested and amused in the gay and orderly throngs which pass in review in the afternoon of each pleasant day. He spent some time in the shops and book stalls making purchases.

He talked freely concerning foreign affairs, much more freely than upon the subject of American politics. He again showed himself in Paris to be a good political prophet. Four years before, at his house in Washington, just before his own nomination, he had predicted the defeat of the Republican party. Now he was equally confident of its success in the coming election. So his refusal to be a candidate was, to all intents and purposes, in his mind, a declination of the great office of the Presidency of the United States, which had been hitherto the laudable object of his ambition.

In discussing the Irish question at Paris, he said : " Within two years what we term the Irish question





DANIEL J. FAWCETT. TO BE OR NOT TO BE. CHAS. H. COLEMAN.

TO BE OR NOT TO BE.—(Cartoon.)
By permission from *Judge*.

has been radically changed in its political bearings in Great Britain by the fact that a great party in England had assumed its advocacy. For many years it was a case of divided Ireland against a united England, but now it is practically a united Ireland against a divided England."

Mr. Blaine attached the greatest importance to Mr. Gladstone's advocacy of the Irish cause. He said: "Think of it! Here is the first statesman of England, the greatest Parliamentary leader since the death of the younger Pitt, standing at the bar of the House of Commons pleading the cause of Ireland! Ten years ago, even five years ago, no one anticipated such a remarkable turn of events." Continuing, he added: "He has already effected a great deal, though, of course, it does not as yet appear in the enactments of a hostile Parliament. He has already brought about a community of feeling, a genuine cordiality, and co-operation between a large section of the Irish people and a large section of the English people. For the first time we see Irish speakers crossing the Channel and taking part in English Parliamentary elections, and English speakers crossing the Channel and taking part in the Irish struggle, doing this even at the hazard of being arrested and imprisoned under the provisions of the Coercion Act. All this implies a prodigious change of public

opinion and the working of influences of which no man can yet measure the force of the final effect. This is the direct outgrowth of Mr. Gladstone's great leadership, and, perhaps, the result could have been obtained under the leadership of no other man at this particular epoch."

He thought there was a great gain in the interchange of speakers. He said: "You must remember that an Irishman is a better stump speaker than an Englishman of the same general capacity. The Irishman has the quickness, the wit, the humor, the repartee, which make a stump speech attractive and effective in a higher degree than an Englishman, though in a solid logical argument in the House of Commons the Englishman might be the stronger man."

Mr. Blaine accounted for the increase of the liberal strength in England by the extension of suffrage. He said: "This extension has added a large number of agricultural laborers to the list of voters. These men readily listen to the Irish speakers, because they think the Irish sympathize with their poverty and would gladly remove burdens in England as well as in Ireland. On the other hand, the agricultural laborers associate the majority of the English speakers with the aristocratic classes and as living beyond the sphere of sympathy with themselves."

“How then do the English speakers in Ireland aid the cause?” was asked.

Mr. Blaine replied: “They are of a cooler temperament than the Irish, and thus impart discretion to Irish courage, which latter often runs to rashness. At the same time they exhibit to the popular mind of Ireland the essential community of feeling between large masses of men in the two countries.”

He thought that the Irish policy of the future “should and will be to sustain Mr. Gladstone. Whatever strengthens his position strengthens the Irish cause and adds to the number of Englishmen who will espouse it and make it the first of all imperial questions, until it is settled. The friends of Ireland in America should therefore keep this point steadily in view. Mr. Gladstone believes that Home Rule, for Ireland on Irish questions, is just as reasonable as Home Rule for England on English questions, and that both can and shall be maintained under the flag of the same Empire in peace, in harmony, and in prosperity. Under Mr. Gladstone’s lead this question, to use a phrase of Mr. Webster, is taking hold upon the hearts and consciences of a large and leading class of Englishmen, who are ready and eager to do justice to a long oppressed people. As the confidence grows and strengthens between the Irish

Home Rulers and the Liberals of England, a very strong party will be organized which they will endeavor to make under Mr. Gladstone's leadership the van guard of an enlightened opinion for the British Isles."

During the call of several visitors upon Mr. Blaine one day he was asked about his acquaintance with the Prince of Wales at Homburg. He said: "All there was of the whole affair which some of our papers so greatly magnified was that the Prince of Wales requested that I should be presented to him, and I was presented accordingly, and afterward I had a few informal conversations with his Royal Highness which are of no political signification whatever."

He was then asked to give his opinion of the Prince of Wales. He replied: "It would of course be absurd and even offensive for me to give an estimate of the heir to the English throne on such slight grounds as those on which my acquaintance with the Prince of Wales rests. I may say, however, that in my brief conversation with him he impressed me, as he has so many others, with being a man of great tact in personal intercourse, exceedingly affable, and ready in conversation, enjoying humor, and possessing it, and able in a singular degree to make his guests feel at perfect ease. He shows a friendly

regard for Americans, and is very cordial to those of our countrymen with whom he becomes acquainted. He is unaffectedly and outspokenly desirous of kindly relations between the two countries."

It was during another conversation that some one spoke to Mr. Blaine concerning the attitude of some of his old opponents and asked him if he had been elected in 1884 would he not have punished those of his party who had attempted to defeat him. Mr. Blaine replied in the most positive negative. He said that he knew of nothing so degrading as the cultivation of the feeling of revenge, or nothing so empty as a life devoted to the pursuit of a policy of retaliation. "Life" said he, "is too short for anything of this kind." This expression of opinion really presented his character. He could be very fierce and resentful during a gust of passion, but when the feeling of temper had passed the feeling of resentment went with it.

He crossed the Channel from Paris to England early in June. There he joined Mr. Andrew Carnegie's coaching party which had planned to drive from London to Mr. Carnegie's place in Scotland. It was a long journey and one that required a certain amount of physical strength to endure. Each day was passed upon the top of an open coach. There was an average of about twenty miles a day drive. It

was one of the pleasantest experiences of Mr. Blaine's life. June in England is the pleasantest month in the year. The country was like a private garden; the perfect roads and the comfortable little inns, the cool and invigorating atmosphere, and the free outdoor life contributed greatly to Mr. Blaine's enjoyment. He endured the incidental fatigue of the journey as well as any member of the party. They arrived at Edinburgh on the Saturday evening preceding the Monday when the nomination of Mr. Harrison was made. Sunday the party rested at the Royal McGregor Hotel in Edinburgh. During that day Mr. Blaine received a number of fervent appeals by cable from his friends in Chicago. They begged him to say nothing but to leave them free to act. They could nominate him on the following Monday on the opening ballot. Numerous pledges were cabled him from representatives in the Convention. Nothing was clearer than that he could have the nomination. He sent back one cable reaffirming positively his decision made at Florence and repeated at Paris. He even added that if he were nominated in spite of this decision he would not accept the nomination. Mr. Blaine said, after sending the cable, to a visitor who came into his drawing-room of the hotel, that he had again directed his friends to keep his name out of

the Convention. He was then asked whom he thought would be nominated. He replied without any hesitation that General Benjamin Harrison would be nominated on the opening ballot. This positive declaration upon his part shows the part that Mr. Blaine had in directing the will of this Convention. It was plainly to be inferred from this positive opinion that he had asked his friends who controlled the Convention to give their support to Mr. Harrison.

The news of the result of the Convention was handed to Mr. Blaine the following evening at Linlithgow. He was then engaged, in company with the members of the coaching party, in examining the ruins of an old castle near the town. He did not look at the dispatch which was offered to him, but asked "Who was nominated?" The reply was "General Benjamin Harrison." Mr. Blaine replied: "A very good nomination indeed," and then picked up the thread of the conversation concerning the character of this ruin, which had been interrupted by the arrival of the dispatch. He showed then no regret and expressed none afterward. Mrs. Blaine said very frankly that she was very sorry that it could not have been Mr. Blaine. This opinion shows clearly that Mr. Blaine had not at that time confided in her a complete knowledge of the state of his health.

Mr. Blaine remained with Mr. Carnegie for a few days after the decision of the Convention. He then returned to London, and, upon the invitation of Mr. Clement A. Griscom, of Philadelphia, the President of the Inman and International Steamship Company, he took passage upon the new steamship the "City of New York," which was to make her trial trip to New York. In accepting this invitation he gave up his quarters which he had engaged for his return on the "Trave," of the German Lloyd.

He sailed upon the first day of August, 1888, for home. He was much interested in the new ship. It was one of the first of the great modern steamers now so common in the trans-Atlantic passenger-carrying trade. A number of Americans came up to Liverpool to see him off. It was observed that Mr. Blaine went on board ship without even one backward glance toward England. The voyage was comparatively uneventful except the two days' delay in her passage occasioned by the over-heating of some of her new machinery. Mr. Blaine was not a very good sailor. He was on deck nearly every day, but it was only toward the latter part of the voyage that he felt at his ease and enjoyed conversation with his fellow-passengers.

Upon the occasion of the charitable entertainment which is given during the voyage of every one of the



LETTER OF WITHDRAWAL—PUBLIC UNCERTAINTY.
(Cartoon—*Puck's* Version.)

large steamers Mr. Blaine was selected as Chairman. The handsome dining-room was filled with a large and agreeable company. Mr. Blaine presided with great dignity and grace. The performance given was above the average on account of the presence of a number of theatrical people who all contributed to the programme. Mr. Blaine made friends with every one on board ship. He was the constant subject of attention, and when on deck was nearly always the centre of an amiable group. To every one he was ready to talk upon any subject. He appeared to have lost all reserve, now that he was personally out of politics.

He was greeted at New York by a great demonstration upon the part of his friends. He found that it was difficult for him even as a private citizen to escape the attentions of the party managers. He returned to Maine very soon after his landing, and took but little part in the campaign beyond making one or two very cordial speeches wherein he indorsed with all sincerity the Republican candidate.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MR. BLAINE ACCEPTS THE OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE UNDER PRESIDENT HARRISON.—HIS RELATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT AGREEABLE UNTIL SHORTLY BEFORE HIS RESIGNATION.—THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.—THE OBJECTS OF THIS NOTABLE GATHERING.

PRESIDENT HARRISON, who was elected by a decided majority in the campaign of 1888, offered Mr. Blaine, directly after election, the office of Secretary of State. Mr. Blaine, through his two years of rest, now felt equal to the work of the State Department, and to try to carry out the main object of his political ambition, his South American policy. He was left comparatively free from any demands upon the part of office-seekers.

The great appointments in the Department are nearly always made up at the time of the formation of the Cabinet. Mr. Blaine appointed to two of the leading missions some of the prominent journalists of the country. He sent Mr. Whitelaw Reid to Paris, Mr. Charles Emory Smith to St. Petersburg, and offered to Mr. Murat Halstead the Mission to Berlin.

Through the influence of Mr. John Sherman Mr. Halstead's appointment was not confirmed by the United States Senate. Mr. Blaine again turned to the son of his old friend when he sent Mr. Lincoln to England.

The relations between Mr. Blaine and the President were always agreeable up to the few days preceding the former's resignation from the Cabinet.

President Harrison was fifty-seven years of age when he came to the Presidential office. He was three years younger than Mr. Blaine. They had known each other in the Senate, and Mr. Harrison had been one of the conspicuous speakers for Mr. Blaine in the campaign of 1884. Mr. Harrison is of medium height with a powerful, thick-set figure.

His early and happy marriage gave him the most elevated ideas concerning domestic purity. Whenever an applicant for office was found to have led an immoral life, or who had even had an unfortunate domestic career, the President always passed him by. He has held that there are enough good men in every community about whom there can be no question from whom selections for public offices should be made.

Mr. Harrison always showed great appreciation for Mr. Blaine, and cordially co-operated with him in carrying out the policy of the State Department,

and never showed any jealousy of his popularity nor of his prominence. Mr. Blaine became absorbed in the work of the State Department, and for a time was as cheerful and in as good spirits as when engaged upon his literary work. The duties of the post were very congenial to him. He had but little to do with office-seekers. He came but little in contact with the public at this time. He did most of the work of his diplomatic correspondence at his home.

Up to the day of his resignation from Mr. Harrison's Cabinet there was no point of serious difference between them. President Harrison has such a positive character that friction might have been possible had it not been for his high regard and appreciation of Mr. Blaine. Mr. Harrison is one of the best equipped men who ever held the Presidential office.

Mr. Blaine moved with his customary promptness when he began to develop his South American policy. He acted with the energy of a man who was conscious of the brevity of time left to him.

Under the Garfield administration Mr. Blaine had sought to get the representatives of the South American Republics to meet in Washington in a Peace Conference.

Now they were to be convened in a Pan-American Congress with really the same objects in view, al-



DRAWING-ROOM IN THE BLAINE MANSION AT WASHINGTON.

though the scope of the Congress was made officially wider. The invitation to this Pan-American Congress was issued under the authority of a law passed by the Fiftieth Congress. This law was the outgrowth of public agitation upon the subject of this policy as proposed by Mr. Blaine in 1881.

The objects of this Congress, as officially declared, were :

First.—Measures that shall tend to preserve and promote the prosperity of the several American States.

Second.—Measures toward the formation of American customs union, under which the trade of the American nations with each other shall, so far as possible and profitable, be promoted.

Third.—The establishment of regular and frequent communication between the ports of the several American States and the ports of each other.

Fourth.—The establishment of a uniform system of customs regulations in each of the independent American States to govern the mode of importation and exportation of merchandise and port dues and charges, a uniform method of determining the classification and valuation of such merchandise in the ports of each country, and a uniform system of invoices, and the subject of the sanitation of ships and quarantine.

Fifth.—The adoption of a uniform system of weights and measures, and laws to protect the patent-rights, copyrights, and trade-marks of citizens of either country in the other, and for the extradition of criminals.

Sixth.—The adoption of a common silver coin, to be issued by each Government, the same to be legal tender in all commercial transactions between the citizens of all of the American States.

Seventh.—An agreement upon and recommendation for adoption to their respective Governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them, to the end that all difficulties and disputes between such nations may be peaceably settled and wars prevented.

Eighth.—And to consider such other subjects relating to the welfare of the several States represented as may be presented by any of said States which are hereby invited to participate in said Conference.

The countries that accepted invitations and sent delegates were : Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Uruguay, Argentine Republic, Nicaragua, Salvador, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, San Domingo, Paraguay, Columbia, Hayti, and the Hawaiian Islands.

The conference met in the diplomatic room of the State Department on the 2d of October, 1889, the first year of the Harrison administration.

Mr. Blaine was elected President of the conference. His brief address of welcome to the delegates shows clearly what he hoped to accomplish by the influence of the countries represented by them. He said :

“ Gentlemen of the International American Conference : Speaking for the Government of the United States, I bid you welcome to this Capital. Speaking for the people of the United States, I bid you welcome to every section and to every State of the Union. You come in response to an invitation extended by the President on the special authorization

of Congress. Your presence here is no ordinary event. It signifies much to the people of all America to-day. It may signify far more in the days to come. No conference of nations has ever assembled to consider the welfare of territorial possessions so vast and to contemplate the possibilities of a future so great and so inspiring. Those now sitting within these walls are empowered to speak for nations whose borders are on both the great oceans, whose northern limits are touched by the Arctic waters for a thousand miles beyond the Straits of Behring and whose southern extension furnishes human habitations farther below the equator than is elsewhere possible on the globe.

"The aggregate territorial extent of the nations here represented falls but little short of 12,000,000 of square miles—more than three times the area of all Europe, and but little less than one-fourth part of the globe; while in respect to the power of producing the articles which are essential to human life and those which minister to life's luxury, they constitute even a larger proportion of the entire world. These great possessions to-day have an aggregate population approaching 120,000,000, but if peopled as densely as the average of Europe, the total number would exceed 1,000,000,000. While considerations of this character must inspire Americans, both South and North, with the liveliest anticipations of future grandeur and power, they must also impress them with a sense of the gravest responsibility touching the character and development of their respective nationalities.

"The Delegates I am addressing can do much to establish permanent relations of confidence, respect, and friendship between the nations which they represent. They can show to the world an honorable, peaceful conference of eighteen independent American Powers, in which all shall meet together on terms of absolute equality; a conference in which there can be no attempt to coerce a single Delegate against his own conception of the interests of his nation; a conference

which will permit no secret understanding on any subject, but will frankly publish to the world all its conclusions; a conference which will tolerate no spirit of conquest, but will aim to cultivate an American sympathy as broad as both continents; a conference which will form no selfish alliance against the older nations from which we are proud to claim inheritance—a conference, in fine, which will seek nothing, propose nothing, endure nothing that is not, in the general sense of all the Delegates, timely and wise and peaceful.

“And yet we cannot be expected to forget that our common fate has made up inhabitants of the two continents which, at the close of four centuries, are still regarded beyond the seas as the New World. Like situations beget like sympathies and impose like duties. We meet in firm belief that the nations of America ought to be and can be more helpful, each to the other, than they now are, and that each will find advantages and profit from an enlarged intercourse with the others.

“We believe that we should be drawn together more closely by the highways of the seas, and that at no distant day the railway systems of the North and South will meet upon the isthmus and connect by land routes the political and commercial capitals of all America.

“We believe that hearty co-operation, based on hearty confidence, will save all American States from the burdens and evils which have long and cruelly afflicted the older nations of the world.

“We believe that a spirit of justice, of common and equal interest between the American States will leave no room for an artificial balance of power like unto that which has led to wars abroad and drenched Europe in blood.

“We believe that friendship, avowed with candor and maintained with good faith, will remove from American States the necessity of guarding boundary lines between themselves with fortifications and military force.

“We believe that standing armies, beyond those which are





DR. W. W. JOHNSTON.



REV. T. S. HAMLIN.
MR. BLAINE'S PHYSICIAN AND PASTOR.

needful for public order and the safety of internal administration, should be unknown on both the American continents.

"We believe that friendship and not force, the spirit of just law and not the violence of the mob, should be the recognized rule of administration between American nations and in American nations.

"To these subjects, and those which are cognate thereto, the attention of this Conference is earnestly and cordially invited by the Government of the United States. It will be a great gain when we shall acquire that common confidence on which all international friendship must rest. It will be a greater gain when we shall be able to draw the people of all American nations into close acquaintance with each other, an end to be facilitated by more frequent and more rapid intercommunication. It will be the greatest gain when the personal and commercial relations of the American States, south and north, shall be so developed and so regulated that each shall acquire the highest possible advantage from the enlightened and enlarged intercourse of all.

"Before the Conference shall formally enter upon the discussion of the subjects to be submitted to it I am instructed by the President to invite all the Delegates to be the guests of the Government during a proposed visit to various sections of the country, with the double view of showing to our friends from abroad the condition of the United States, and of giving to our people in their homes the privilege and pleasure of extending the warm welcome of Americans to Americans."

The work of this Conference was most important in its after results. The delegates after their meeting at Washington were taken about the country under the supervision of Mr. W. E. Curtis, who represented the State Department. The delegates were

entertained by the leading chambers of commerce in the country.

One of the immediate results was the establishment of the Bureau of South American Republics in the State Department for the purpose of disseminating information concerning these countries. Another was the development of the project for the Pan-American railroad, which is to complete a chain of railroads between this country and all the countries of South America. The preliminary surveys of this Continental railroad are nearly completed, and it is believed that the future will see the early building of the road. The united aid of the Governments of the countries interested will be enough to make such building certain.

CHAPTER XXXII.

MR. BLAINE'S FAILING HEALTH.—HIS RELATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT.—REASONS FOR HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE CABINET.—HIS PART IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1888.—HIS MANY DOMESTIC SORROWS.—HIS DEATH AND FUNERAL.

MR. BLAINE'S general break-down of health and final death were undoubtedly hastened by a series of domestic misfortunes. He was extremely devoted to his family. On the 15th of January, 1890, his oldest son, Walker Blaine, a brilliant and highly accomplished man, upon whom he relied implicitly for aid in all of his diplomatic work, died suddenly from an attack of pneumonia. The suddenness of his death, which came after only a few days' illness, came like a crushing blow upon the Secretary. Within a month his oldest daughter Alice, the wife of Colonel Coppinger of the army, died. A few weeks later Mr. Blaine had an attack of what afterward proved to be paralysis. He fell down at the State Department, and for a short time was unconscious. He recovered sufficiently to walk, with the aid of an assistant, to his carriage, but the doctors advised him

to at once give up his work at the State Department.

The most agreeable and brilliant year of his public life was the first one of the Harrison administration. In this year he saw the meeting of the Pan-American Conference, and saw fully developed the policy of peace and of commercial unity which he had sought to accomplish under the Garfield administration. He witnessed also the successful accomplishment of legislation to carry out this policy. Mr. Blaine protested before two committees of Congress against the McKinley Bill. He held that this measure was faulty, and one that would not be approved by the public. He had always been a friend of the protective system, but he knew that any proposition to increase the duties during a time of peace would result only in injury to the system. He held that it would have been a very simple matter to have retained all of the essential features of the protective system and yet have made a general modification of the tariff duties. Then the party could have gone to the country with taxes reduced, and would, in his judgment, have been invincible. The reciprocity measure which he had proposed was in mitigation of what he deemed the bad features of the new tariff measure.

His absence from the State Department during the summer of 1891 left the matter in the hands of

the President. Mr. Blaine was able from his Maine home, through letters to the public, to contribute in a very marked degree to the final success of this measure. Mr. Blaine returned to Washington in the fall and resumed his State Department work. The Chilian affair had occurred during the early fall of that year, before Mr. Blaine's return to Washington. The President had committed the Department to a very positive policy. Mr. Blaine did not apparently realize the importance of the situation, and thought that the President had been too extreme. This was the first marked indication that Mr. Blaine no longer had the same appreciation of public questions as before his last illness. He yielded, however, to the President's judgment in the matter and prepared the dispatches which were finally sent. This was really his last important public work.

In February of 1892 he wrote a letter to the Chairman of the National Republican Committee announcing that he would not be a candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency, before the Convention which was to be held during the next summer. The writing of this letter was deemed absolutely essential for the reason that the demand throughout the country for his becoming a candidate was again almost universal in the Republican ranks. The fact that he was physically not able to take part

in any canvass, and that he was then fighting against the rapid encroachments of a mortal malady had been kept from the public. Mr. Blaine was very sensitive upon the subject of his health. Even after this letter was written his enemies charged that it was not written in good faith, and that he was using his place in the Cabinet to intrigue for the Presidential nomination. These suggestions disturbed in no way the relation between the President and Mr. Blaine until a very short time before the Convention met. Then there occurred a point of friction between them of a personal character and having no relation to politics, for which neither the President nor Mr. Blaine was to blame.

This led to Mr. Blaine's going away from Washington to New York for a short visit. While there all of the Republican wire-pullers who were seeking to defeat Mr. Harrison for renomination gathered about Mr. Blaine and sought permission to use his name as a candidate. Certain influences about him led these politicians to believe that Mr. Blaine would not refuse their request. His health had now made him nervous and irritable. He was not in a normal condition. He did not absolutely say "no" to them, and when he came to return to Washington after the New York visit he found the papers filled with stories of his treachery to the President, who was a

candidate, and he was led to believe that the President had countenanced some of these publications. With the nervous irritability of a sick man who wishes to escape from a disagreeable subject he wrote on the Saturday preceding the Convention his ill-timed resignation from the Cabinet. It was said at the time that the President had taken pains to show to Mr. Blaine after his return from New York that he was displeased with him, and had discredited him and his authority before a meeting of the High Commissioners from Canada who had come to Washington for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty. This report had no foundation. The President treated Mr. Blaine from first to last with marked courtesy, and at no time during their official intercourse was there one word of unkindness exchanged. Mr. Harrison appreciated thoroughly Mr. Blaine's abilities, and understood the changes which were produced by his failing health. No one could have been more patient or could have expressed more sincere sympathy than did the President when Mr. Blaine was suffering from his domestic sorrows.

Mr. Blaine's name was used before the Minneapolis Convention without any real authority and to the sorrow of his best friends. Mr. Harrison was renominated after a strong fight, and Mr. Blaine himself congratulated him and so far as his strength per-

mitted exercised his influence to secure his election. His illness throughout the summer and fall of 1892 increased his feebleness. Mr. Emmons Blaine, who was at Minneapolis during the Convention, and who wished to see his father nominated through overwork and fatigue caught a severe cold. He died within a week after the adjournment of the Convention. This death was as unexpected as was that of Mr. Walker Blaine. Mr. Blaine was at Bar Harbor at the time of the death. It was the climax of numerous misfortunes.

Mr. Blaine returned to Washington late in the fall of 1892, after Mr. Cleveland's election. He soon called upon the President, and if there had been any real difference between the two gentlemen it was then cleared away. Mr. and Mrs. Blaine attended the funeral of Mrs. Harrison at the White House a short time after. He was now very feeble. He had intended to spend the winter in California. But a cold taken in the month of December confined him to his bed, and from the first the doctors gave no hope of his recovery. He gradually grew weaker and weaker and suffered from continued derangement of the action of the heart. He died quietly at eleven o'clock the morning of the 27th of January, 1893, at his Washington home. There were present with him at his death, Mrs. Blaine, Miss Harriet



CHURCH OF THE COVENANT, WASHINGTON, D. C.
(From which Mr. Blaine was buried.)

Blaine, James G. Blaine, Jr., Mrs. Walter Damrosch, and Mrs. Blaine's cousin Miss Dodge (Gail Hamilton). President Harrison was the first to be notified of his death.

The President, upon the reception of the news of Mr. Blaine's death, hastened at once to the house to pay a visit of condolence. Upon his return to the White House he issued the following proclamation to the country announcing Mr. Blaine's death. It was as follows :

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 27th. }

"It is my painful duty to announce to the people of the United States the death of James Gillespie Blaine, which occurred in this city to-day at eleven o'clock.

"For a full generation this eminent citizen has occupied a conspicuous and influential position in the Nation. His first public service was in the Legislature of his State. Afterward, for fourteen years he was a member of the National House of Representatives, and was three times chosen its Speaker.

"In 1876 he was elected to the Senate. He resigned his seat in that body in 1881 to accept the position of Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Garfield. After the tragic death of his chief he resigned from the Cabinet, and, devoting himself to literary work, gave to the public, in his *Twenty Years in Congress*, a most valuable and enduring contribution to our political literature. In March, 1889, he again became Secretary of State, and continued to exercise this office until June, 1892.

"His devotion to the public interests, his marked ability, and his exalted patriotism have won for him the gratitude

and affection of his countrymen and the admiration of the world. In the various pursuits of legislation, diplomacy, and literature his genius has added new lustre to American citizenship.

"As a suitable expression of the national appreciation of his great public services and of the general sorrow caused by his death, I direct that on the day of his funeral all the departments of the Executive branch of the Government at Washington be closed, and that on all public buildings throughout the United States the National flag shall be displayed at half staff, and that for a period of thirty days the Department of State be draped in mourning.

"By the President:

"BENJAMIN HARRISON.

"JOHN W. FOSTER,

"*Secretary of State.*"

The city had been prepared for Mr. Blaine's death by his prolonged illness. There had been crowds of watchers about the house on Lafayette Square for weeks. The demonstration of grief throughout the country could not have been greater if Mr. Blaine had been President. The members of the diplomatic colony at Washington were especially affected. All during the day following Mr. Blaine's death there was a long procession of official callers who came to leave messages of condolence. Telegraph messages came from all parts of the world. The expressions of sympathy were universal.

Within a few hours following Mr. Blaine's death

the physicians, who had been forbidden up to that time to speak of the character of his malady, were given permission to make a statement to the public. Their declaration concerning his illness and the causes which led to his death were as follows:

“The beginning of Mr. Blaine’s illness dates back some years. The earliest signs of ill-health were associated with, and no doubt due to, a gouty tendency which manifested itself in subacute attacks of gout, disturbances of digestion, and progressive innutrition and anæmia. Subsequent events prove that at this time changes were going on in the arteries of the body, which resulted later in symptoms of obliteration of vessels and in chronic disease of the kidneys. The attack of the paralysis in 1887 was connected with similar alterations of the blood-vessels of the brain.

“During the summer of 1892 the evidences of failing health were more decided, and in November, after his return to Washington, his symptoms suddenly assumed an aggravated form. From this time, although there were periods of apparent improvement, he continued to grow worse from week to week. The symptoms were at first more directly connected with the kidneys, and examinations of the urine shows that there was a progressive interstitial change going on in that organ, and that he had a form of chronic Bright’s disease. In December signs of lung complication appeared, which were no doubt connected with the general disease, but as tubercle bacilli were found in the sputa, it is probable that there was some tubercular infection as well. Much of the distress which Mr. Blaine suffered was associated with this disease of the lungs, and his death was certainly hastened by it.

“Toward the end of December the heart began to show signs of unusual weakness from cardiac degeneration and dilatation, and on December 18th he had an alarming attack

of heart exhaustion. From this he rallied, but others of the same nature occurred on several occasions. From the middle of January these attacks ceased, and the action of the heart was more uniformly good. There was, however, a daily loss of flesh and strength.

"For three days before Mr. Blaine's death there was no marked change in his condition; each day he seemed somewhat more feeble than on the day before, and on the night before his death he did not seem to be in any immediate danger. Toward the morning of the 27th inst. his pulse was observed to be very feeble and his breathing more embarrassed. As a result of the failing heart action œdema of the lungs occurred, and he died without much suffering at eleven o'clock.

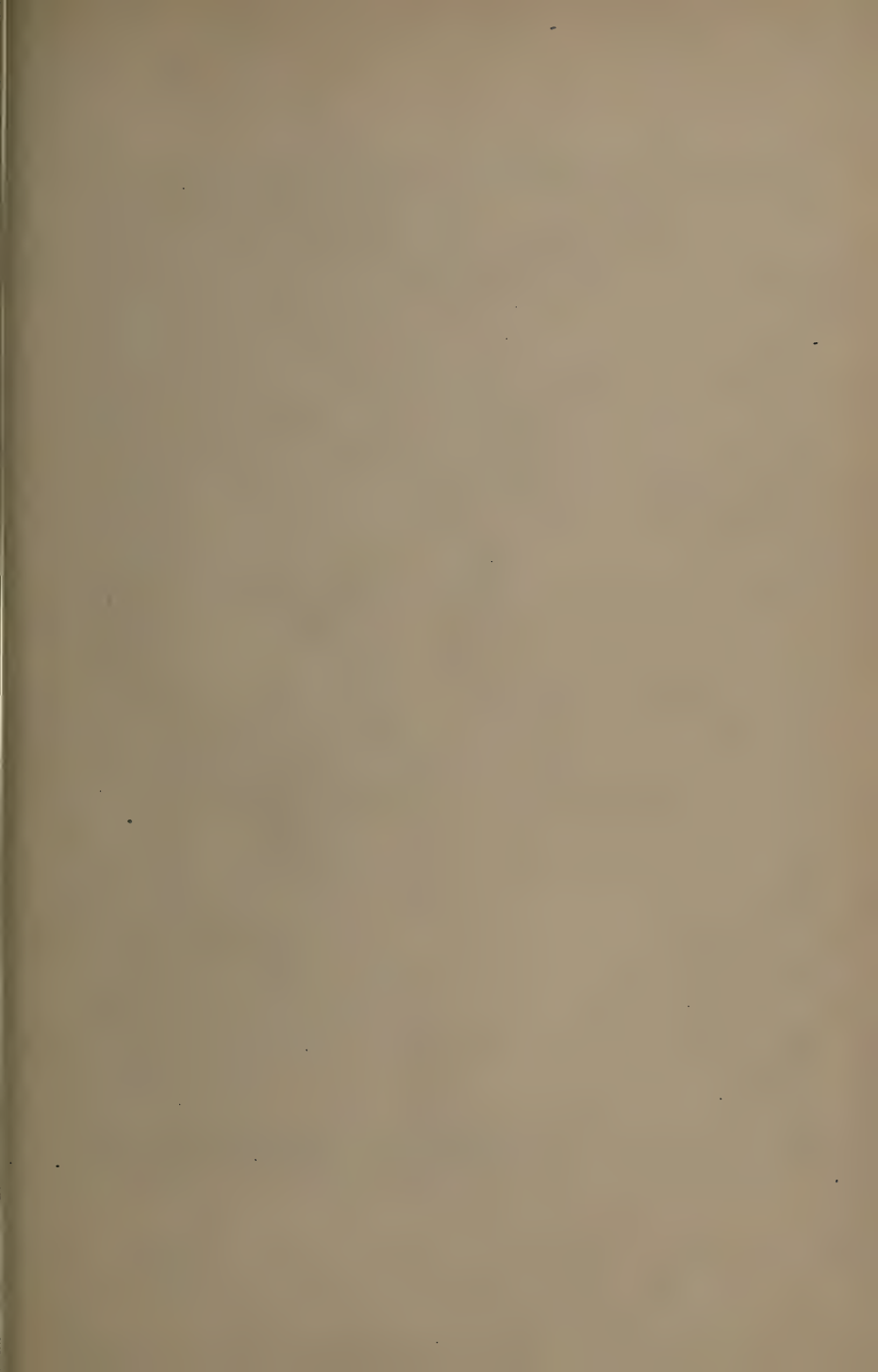
"During the whole of Mr. Blaine's illness the digestion was well performed, and liquid food (chiefly milk) was taken in full quantities. His mind was generally clear, except when clouded by uræmia and disturbed brain circulation, and although unable to express himself in words, he recognized all the members of his family up to within a few moments of his death.

"Doctors Janeway and Loomis, of New York, were called in consultation, and rendered important services by their advice.

"WILLIAM W. JOHNSTON, M. D..

"FRANCK HYATT, M. D."

According to the wishes of Mrs. Blaine, the funeral was a private one. The funeral took place on the Monday of January 30th, within one day of Mr. Blaine's sixty-third birthday. The funeral ceremonies were conducted in the Church of the Covenant, the Presbyterian Church that Mr. Blaine attended. The Rev. Dr. Hamlin officiated. He was





MR. BLAINE'S WASHINGTON HOME.
The House in which he Died.

buried at Oak Hill Cemetery, at Washington, near the graves of his son, Walker, and his daughter, Alice. He died a member of the Church with which he had been connected all his life, although his regard for the Church of his mother was marked. This was shown by his receiving a few weeks before his death Cardinal Gibbons in his sick-room, where only his most intimate friends and members of the family had been permitted to come.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SUMMARY OF MR. BLAINE'S CAREER.—HIS PLACE IN HISTORY.

MR. BLAINE in his life reached an eminence which would not have been surpassed if he had been elected to the high office of President of the United States. He earned the right to be classed with the greatest of the statesmen of the country. He lived long enough to gain even the esteem and respect of his enemies, and no man has ever had more prejudiced opponents than he.

He reached a popularity as great as that of Henry Clay, and in the record of results achieved he even surpassed him.

Mr. Blaine was always original and a leading force in every work in life to which his talent and genius guided him. It can be said of him that he was always interesting and what he did constantly challenged attention. Because of his originality and his readiness to depart from established precedents he won early the reputation of being brilliant. The brilliant man, in the estimation of people who are not original, is, to use the mildest phrase, unsafe. Dull-

ness is often translated safe. Mr. Blaine's brilliancy consisted largely in his possessing a clear mind and great ability to work joined to a high ambition. He had also great self-reliance, and as he matured there came to him the breadth of view which alone can class a public man as a statesman.

It will be observed that from his first entry into public life he had a model before him for high achievement. He did not think it beneath him to study the career of the statesman whose character was most in sympathy with his. For Mr. Clay Mr. Blaine always retained the admiration of his youth. If anything this regard deepened as he grew older. He had the wholesome quality of admiring some one beside himself, an unusual trait among striving politicians. He never reached the critical stage where he lacked belief in men. To the last he retained his ability to admire and to become enthusiastic.

When in public life his brilliancy was always tempered by a judgment of singular clearness, wonderfully free from prejudice. After long years of public service the public began to learn that this statesman who had so often carried originality to the verge of daring possessed one of the most conservative minds in the country.

In his anxiety to hold high the standard of American citizenship his life will warrant patriotic

study. His observations upon the dangers of the Southern political element in our country may give some future student the material to make as great a name and fame as he did in seeking to continue the work begun by Henry Clay. The unjust share of political power held by the South led to one civil war and the threatened ruin of the country. So long as this injustice stands, Mr. Blaine believed republican institutions in this country were not secure. In the development of his South American policy he showed himself a publicist of imperial rank. He aimed at the domination of this country over the entire Continent. But it was not as a murderous conqueror that he sought conquest. It was by the peaceful means of commercial treaties, by the friendly settlement of disputes, by arbitration that Mr. Blaine sought to establish the domination of this country in the New World. It was to establish the domination of Right in the place of Might. It was to give this country a superior position only through its deserving it through superior conduct in its relations with its sister Republics. It was a policy that will aid the weakest of the nations, and which, carried out as it was begun, must soon abolish the revolutions and consequent disturbances in the countries south of us.

His ambition aimed to save lives needlessly wasted

in foolish internecine wars, and to give prosperity to countries where uncertainty and disorder have checked progress and development. It was a policy in accord with the future fraternity of nations to which the highest statesmanship should be directed. It was in this larger plan of Mr. Blaine's that he hoped to find a new solution of the Southern question. To build up the South and increase its prosperity would soon have introduced such a wide variety of material interests that these new influences would have soon been at work to counteract the rule-or-ruin policy of political autocrats, who, while building a system of power for themselves, have retarded the progress of their section, until it has lost step with modern civilization, and lags behind the other portions of the country.

These noble and high-minded aspirations of Mr. Blaine made up the essential creed of his politics. He always worked by party methods to accomplish desired results. He believed he could do more moving with the party as a whole, acting in loyalty with it, than by taking an outside position of a malcontent in any impotent minority, puffing himself up with the vanity of an inflated self-esteem. To be a parliamentary or a party leader one has to be a partisan, a party man. He contented himself as a practical man in doing what he could within party lines.

He wasted no time in spinning idle theories, impossible to carry out.

His capacity to impress men came from his sincerity of convictions. It can be declared as a political axiom that no leader can impart conviction and enthusiasm unless he has himself sincerity and the fervor of actual belief upon his own part. There is no other explanation of the passionate devotion, enthusiasm, and loyalty of Mr. Blaine's friends, than the fact that he himself possessed the same qualities for the cause advocated by him.

It falls to the lot of every one to make mistakes. The life of every man, when measured at its close as to the result of actual achievement, in relation to what he sought to accomplish is at best small.

Mr. Blaine's life, though clouded through its latter years by deep sorrows and many bitter disappointments, yet left behind in its record of statesmanship, in its step upward toward the higher civilization of peace on earth and good-will toward men, a name that will be imperishable in our history.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

MR. BLAINE'S RECIPROCITY POLICY.

THE most important result of the Conference was in educating the public mind so that the reciprocity policy was made earlier possible. This already secured increase of our South American trade is one of the most notable achievements of Mr. Blaine's career. Its successful accomplishment within so short a time indicate his force and talent as a leader, and entitles him to rank the equal of any statesman of modern times.

At the time of his death this policy had included successful treaties with Spain for Cuba and Porto Rico, with the United States of Brazil, with Guatemala, with Salvador, the Republic of Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic.

The President of the United States, upon the 19th of June, 1890, sent a brief but most important message to the Congress of the United States, transmitting papers prepared in the Department of State by Mr. Blaine, outlining the great possibilities to be secured to this country through the development of a reciprocity policy with the countries of Latin America. In this brief message the President called attention to the fact that of the products sent to us from these countries eighty-seven per cent. of them paid no duty. Of the remaining thirteen per cent. of articles taxed it was proposed at the time of the transmission of this message to Congress to remove the tax on sugar. This would have practically made all imports from the Southern countries free, and without the slightest corresponding advantage to us. In the majority of the countries to the south the tariffs upon articles produced or grown in this country are so great as to be almost

prohibitive. The tax collected upon sugar had now reached the sum of \$58,000,000 annually. It was argued at the time that if this tax were given up without any concession from the sugar-producing countries that we would thus foolishly give up a large sum of money without receiving anything in the form of an equivalent. More than this, it was believed by many that the reduction of the sugar tax would result in no advantage to the consumer, and would in the end be nothing but a present to the manufacturers represented in the sugar trust. Cuba, which had produced for years the bulk of the sugar admitted to this country, had her ports closed against us by a rigorous Spanish tariff, so that the supplies which we should have been sending to her in return for sugar were being furnished by other nations. That Congress should for a moment have considered the feasibility of giving up this enormous advantage of the sugar tax without attempting to obtain some return is one of the wonders of modern legislation.

Had it not been for the active energy of Mr. Blaine, for his vigorous personal assertion of the importance of this question, for his personal appeals to the committees of Congress, and finally through appeals directly to the public, Congress would have refused to listen to the words of common sense, and would have persisted in the folly of giving something for nothing, with the hope that good might result from such a policy.

In order to comprehend fully the situation, and to understand the possibilities of the future of this policy, it is necessary to go back over the century and to examine carefully the march of progress in the two sections of the North and South on this continent. These countries have apparently proceeded upon parallel lines with a barrier between intimacy and prosperous commerce. To illustrate the small share we have had in the great trade to the south of us, it is necessary to take only the figures of one year, such as 1888. In that year the united imports of Chile and the Argentine

Republic reached the sum of \$233,127,698. This represents money paid out for articles of foreign production. Nearly all of the articles of this class are produced in this country, and could have been furnished by us if we had had favorable trade relations with the two countries. As it actually was, we furnished only \$13,000,000 out of the great sum of imports of these two countries alone.

Two other years taken as an illustration are enough to indicate clearly our meagre share in the great trade to the south of us. In 1868 we exported to the foreign markets products to the amount of \$375,737,000. Of this amount only fourteen per cent. went to the south. In 1888 our exports had increased over a hundred per cent., and yet only nine per cent. went to the south.

In South America there are to-day forty millions of people, and the problem of modern statesmanship, as outlined in the reciprocity policy, is to establish such relations as will enable us to furnish to these forty millions the bulk of the articles which they have for so many years sought in European markets.

It was the dream of Henry Clay to establish intimate relations with the people of the Southern Republics. It was a subject upon which he used to wax eloquent. He was the first statesman produced in this country who had the comprehension of home affairs and the breadth of view in the field of foreign statesmanship necessary to enable him to understand the possibilities in the development of intimate trade relations between the Republics on this continent. Mr. Clay was a protectionist out and out, and one of the strongest advocates in Congress of this system. His policy toward the south was then known as the American system. It was the beginning of the reciprocity policy of to-day. At various times individual members have taken up Mr. Clay's ideas, and have attempted to embody them in legislation. But none of them have ever succeeded. The adoption by Congress of this reciprocity policy, through the masterly cam-

paign begun and carried out by Mr. Blaine, is the first direct practical result of the ideas originally propounded by Henry Clay. In a speech made by Mr. Clay in Congress on the 10th of May, 1820, he gave a picture at that time which is a very fair miniature of the present situation. Mr. Clay had always been a friend of the South American countries. He was an advocate in 1818 of the policy of recognizing the South American Republics without delay, as soon as they threw off the yoke of Spanish domination. In his advocacy of a mission to South America he dwelt upon the importance of the commerce of that section, and said: "What would I give could we appreciate the advantages which may be realized by pursuing the course which I propose! It is in our power to create a system of which we shall be the centre and in which all South America will act with us. In respect to commerce we shall be most benefited. This country will become the place of deposit of the commerce of the world. Our citizens engaged in foreign trade at present are disheartened by the condition of that trade. They must take new channels for it, and none so advantageous could be found as those which a trade with South America could afford."

At the time that Mr. Clay spoke the population of South America was estimated at eighteen million. The United States had at that time a population of ten millions. Mr. Clay predicted that within fifty years the population to the south might reach seventy millions, while he thought it not unreasonable to hope that the population of the United States might reach forty millions. This prediction shows that Mr. Clay had an exaggerated idea of the rapidity of the possible growth of the south, while his estimate of the population of the United States was very nearly a correct one for the period named by him, 1870.

It is hardly worth while to go through the history of all the attempts that have been made in this direction, because without exception they have failed, and until the adoption of the reciprocity policy outlined by Mr. Blaine Congress has

never done anything which would permit the Government to increase in any way the trade possibilities with the south. As has been shown by the figures, our exports of late years in that direction have steadily declined. This has been owing to the aggressions of foreign countries; to their policy of extending by every possible means their trade with South America, so that it would have been a very short time when not a dollar's worth of our imports would have gone to the south. The narrowing of our foreign market should have opened the eyes of some of the legislators of modern times. But they have been too busy studying local issues to look beyond the range of what was near at hand, and the result has been that to Mr. Blaine alone should be given the credit for inaugurating, in the first place, the policy, while too much credit cannot be given to the President for his cordial and hearty support to the policy so clearly begun and so forcibly carried out by his Secretary of State.

Congress had permitted the old policy to go on for many years, had stubbornly refused to make any changes, and had it not been for the storm of public opinion represented by protests of chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and like associations, would have refused to change this policy of giving something for nothing. This storm of protest was awakened by the explanations of Mr. Blaine. It was a very daring act upon his part to come to the front as he did. The majority of the members of both parties were against him in the matter. This fact can only be explained upon the theory that the majority of members of Congress are lawyers, and have no real practical knowledge of business affairs. The popularity of the reciprocity policy throughout the country without regard to party is owing to the fact that it is based upon plain common-sense business principles.

When Mr. Blaine was the second time called to the Department of State he took up once more his task of uniting the Republics on this Continent in intimate political and commercial relations. It is really wonderful the results that

have been accomplished by him in so short a time. Ordinarily the trade channels of the world are very conservative and are diverted with great difficulty. In the channels of legislation there is the same conservatism. Every one shrinks from anything new. Originality is always met by the criticisms and the opposition of the timid and the jealous. The first step taken by Mr. Blaine in the direction of developing this policy was met by the usual talk of idle men who did not comprehend the results that might be accomplished.

The Pan-American Conference reported against a customs union. It was declared that any customs union would involve too much of a breaking down of the tariff systems of the various countries, and that the formation of any customs union would lead to such complications as to be practically impossible. They, however, recommended a policy of reciprocity, or, in other words, the admission to our ports of certain articles from countries which admitted into their ports in return our products. There was to be always a business basis for concessions offered and given. The adoption of a customs union pure and simple would have meant the practical abolishment of the protection policy in many countries where it has firmly taken root, and would, therefore, have secured its rejection in the United States. The conference thought that reciprocity could not only be accomplished in a moderate and partial way, at the beginning. It said in its report: "The first and most efficient step in that direction is the negotiation of partial reciprocity treaties among the American nations, whereby each may agree to remove or diminish their respective import duties on some of the natural or manufactured products of one or more of the other nations for similar and equivalent advantages. As, if the mutual concessions were not equivalent, the treaties would soon become odious, and could not last but a limited time, and would discredit the system."

All of these facts were clearly presented by the conference. The delegates from the various countries showed the hearti-

est desire to co-operate with this country in the direction of reciprocal trade. The delegates from Chile and the Argentine Republic alone stood out, and that was because Congress, pending these very negotiations, sought to lay a heavy duty upon two articles of production of these two countries—viz., hides and the cheap low grade of wools used in the United States only for the manufacture of the cheapest of our carpets, and coming in competition in no way with our higher-grade wools. This was a fair illustration of the spirit of Congress. It does not appear to have arisen from any opposition to the idea of extending our trade relations with the south, but rather on account of a lack of comprehension of the possibilities involved and a carelessness in not avoiding what would offend or drive off friends in the Pan-American Conference.

As a further illustration of the lack of comprehension in Congress of the necessities of the time, the party leaders prepared a tariff bill which increased taxes. The country for some time had been suffering from hard times. In the West the crops had been poor, and the prices of agricultural products had been very much reduced. Owing to the monetary stringency in London this country was becoming financially embarrassed. This embarrassment almost led to a panic later in the fall, after Congress had done its work. None of the leaders during that summer read carefully the signs of the times. In this Tariff Bill to increase taxes the Republican leaders aimed simply to produce the appearance of reducing revenues. There had been much talk about a surplus in the Treasury, and the consequent necessity of reducing tariff taxes. It had been urged in the opposition press that the Government was collecting more money than was needed, and that the burdens of taxation, therefore, should be lightened. Mr. McKinley, the originator of the Tariff Bill, in spite of this went to work to increase taxes, and then sought to accomplish a reduction of the result by throwing off entirely the taxes on sugar. This proposition would have at

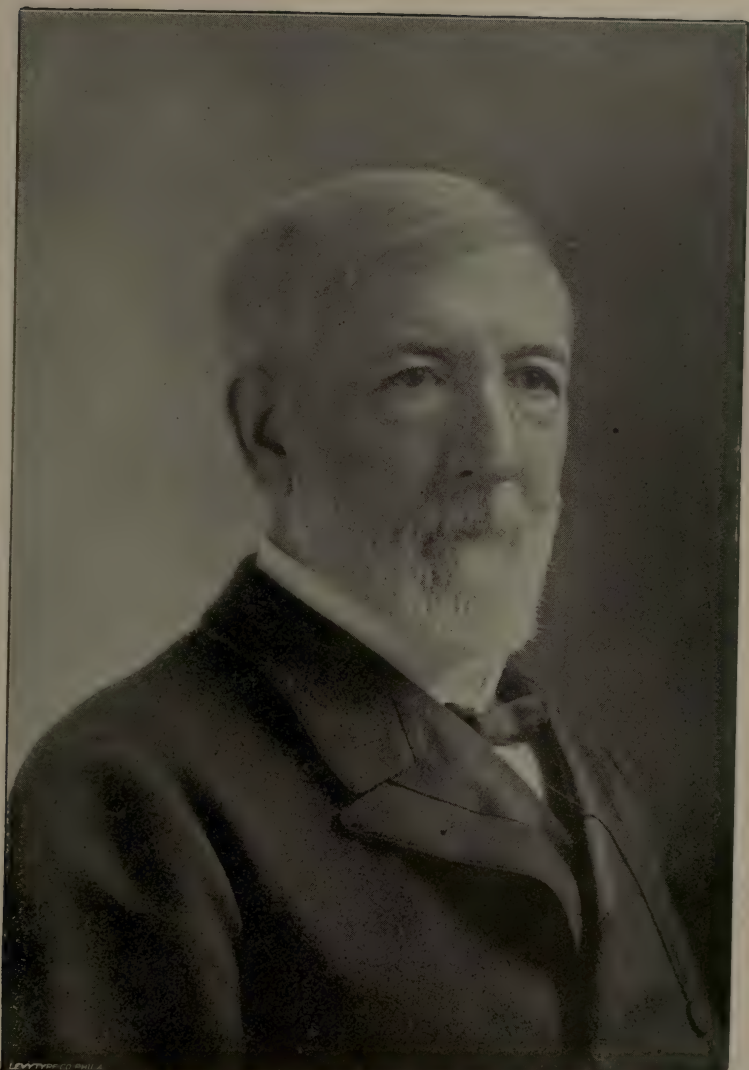
once put an end to the possibility of continuing Mr. Blaine's project. With one sweep the last advantage that we had would have been given away. Upon what basis could we have stood to make a demand for the admission of our products in South American countries, after we had given away everything that we had to give, with our ports open to the sugar and to all of the productions of the south? To further intensify the situation, Spain had at this very time adopted regulations which practically shut out our flour from Cuba. This was a great blow to the milling trade, and yet protests and appeals made to Congress by Mr. Blaine availed nothing. He appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the House and made a speech, but they listened to him with glazed eyes and deaf ears. Doubtless they said to themselves, "This is a policy which Mr. Blaine wishes to be carried out to advance his own personal fortunes." Such is the personal jealousy and rivalry of modern politics that Mr. Blaine could not find in the House a single man to come forward and advocate this plain proposition of common sense. In their mad haste to give something away for nothing they refused to listen to him, and insisted on abolishing the tax on sugar before demanding any concessions upon the part of the sugar-producing countries. This haste to give away \$58,000,000 of revenue for nothing, under the plea of making sugar cheap for the people is such an extraordinary proposition that it could not bear the light of public exposure.

But before going to the public Mr. Blaine made an appeal to the Senate Appropriation Committee. There he said that if sugar was placed upon the free list in advance of any treaties the whole results of the international conference would be sacrificed. He even went farther, in saying that it would be the most inexcusable piece of folly the Republican party was ever guilty of, and that it would realize the results of its folly within a very short time. He also said that he wished that he could have two hours upon the floor of the Senate when the sugar schedule of the Tariff Act was up

for consideration. "Forty millions of people," said he, "have expressed a willingness through their delegates to take our food products free, and the compensation for such a great concession," Mr. Blaine added, "you are about to throw away." While he received more respectful attention upon the Senate side, and had the individual support of such Senators as Aldrich, Sherman, and Hale, he yet could not secure the adoption of any amendment to the Tariff Bill until he made an appeal to the country. This appeal which he made was in the form of two letters written to Senator Frye. In these Mr. Blaine briefly summarized the situation. He called attention to the fact that we were about to do what we had done in the case of taking off the tax on coffee. There we lost a great sum without receiving anything in return. Since the duty of coffee was repealed in 1872 we have sold to Brazil \$156,135,000, while we have received from her \$821,806,000. The difference, \$665,671,000, he said, had been paid out to Brazil in gold, and had been expended by her in the markets of Europe. Had we at that time insisted upon some concession in return for the repeal of the tax upon coffee, then this large sum of six hundred odd millions would not have been lost to this country, and our market would have been the gainer. Mr. Blaine asked Congress to give the President authority to negotiate with the countries which had previously expressed their willingness to negotiate for certain trade concessions; for the advantages we had proposed to throw away. He showed that Spain would be obliged to make a reciprocity treaty. The mere putting the tax upon sugar in Cuba and leaving it off in the other South American countries would absolutely ruin Cuba and throw it into our hands. In other words, we were the master of the trade situation to a great extent, and nothing but the most stupendous folly could by any possibility deprive us of this power. The proposition to give away sugar would have been an end to our position, and the end to all possible increase of our trade in the direction of the south.

The mere statement, as presented by Mr. Blaine, was sufficient to produce a storm of public opinion throughout the country; this, too, without any regard for party. This storm of public opinion produced a great impression, and forced Congress to accept the offer of compromise submitted by the President. Of this there is no doubt. Congress had stubbornly refused, up to the time that Mr. Blaine made the appeal to the public, to take any action. If the tariff bill had passed without this feature the Republican party would have been left without anything to stand upon. The opposition could have shown that it had willfully increased taxes, while it had at the same time ruthlessly sacrificed the last opportunity for extending our trade relations with the countries with which we should naturally have close relations.

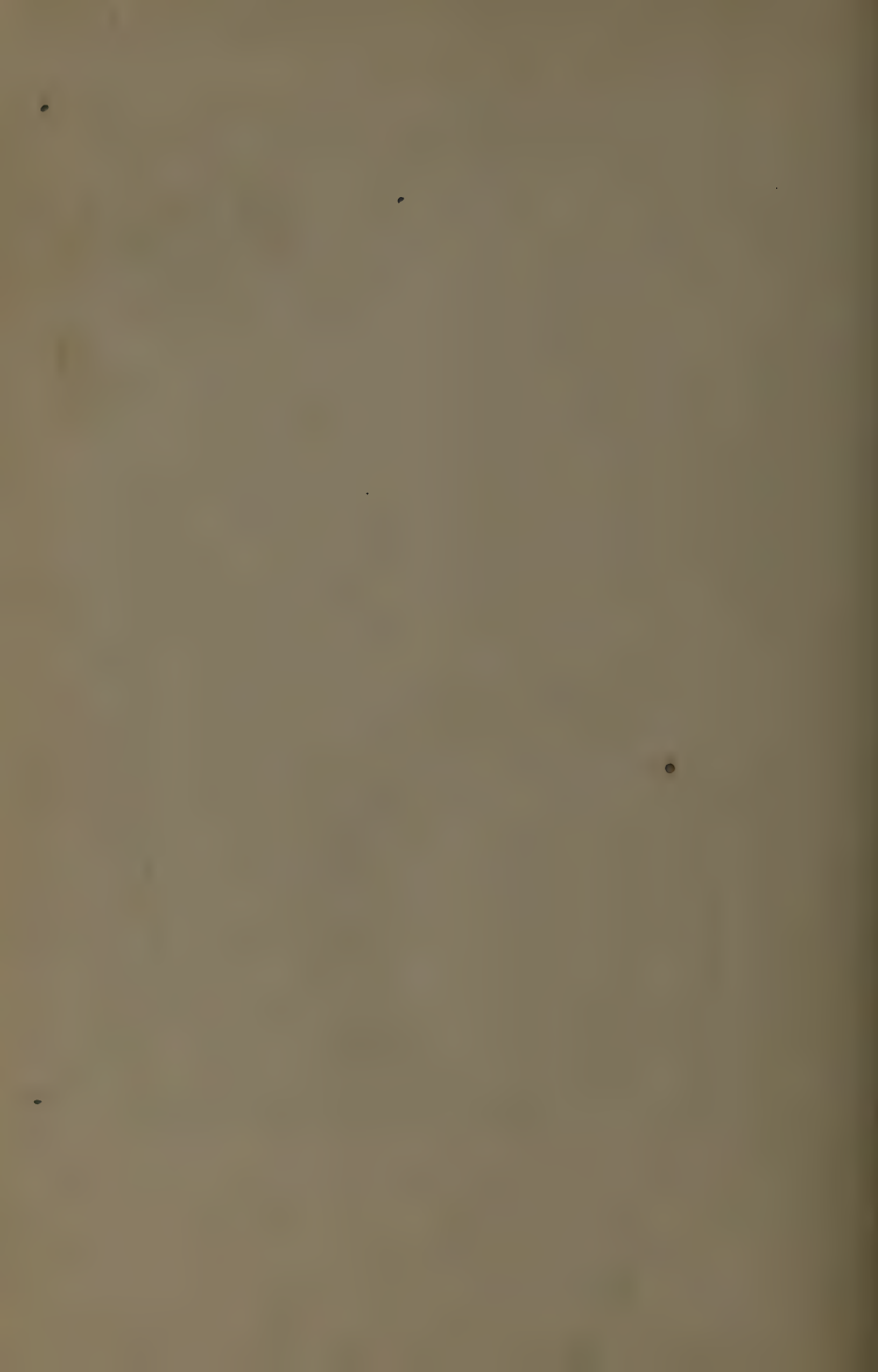
The House, when it had committed itself to taking off the tax on sugar, would not listen to any proposition to restore it. The argument of Mr. Blaine that he no longer had anything upon which he could treat produced no effect. Free sugar for the workingman's breakfast table was a phrase which closed the ears of members to Mr. Blaine's arguments. The President is entitled to the full credit of coming to the rescue of the reciprocity policy and saving it. When Mr. Blaine was absent from Washington at Bar Harbor, having practically given up for the time any hope of convincing the House, or overcoming the jealousy of the Republican leaders there, the President summoned around him a council of leading Republicans from both branches of Congress and submitted a compromise which, afterward incorporated in the Aldrich amendment, was ratified in the conference committee between the two Houses, and so became a law. This compromise proposition gives the President authority to re-impose the tax taken off sugar, coffee, and hides with countries which decline to give us favorable conditions for our products. The advantage of this situation is this: The President is given this authority to treat without going to Congress for any further ratification of what he might do. It would have been



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MR. BLAINE AT SIXTY-THREE.

From Photograph taken just prior to his last illness.



unconstitutional to have given him power to remit a tax in favor of a special country, but Congress had the full right to repeal taxes subject to a certain condition; and this condition permitted the President to re-impose these customs taxes on the products of countries which fail to admit our goods into their ports under equally favorable conditions. It is this plan of the President which has made the reciprocity policy prepared by Mr. Blaine possible and practical. If it had not been for this, with all the animosities and divergent interests in Congress, it is almost certain that no commercial treaty ratified with any of the Latin-American countries would have received approval. The fact that similar treaties have been rejected by the Senate is a proof of this. The Spanish treaty, negotiated by Minister Foster, and which was rejected by the Senate, could now be re-negotiated by the President under the personal power given to him by Congress. It is a further interesting fact that the Senate has not agreed to a single commercial treaty since the Hawaiian negotiation was approved some years ago.

At the same time that this policy was accepted by Congress other recommendations were made; for it was a recognized fact that, whatever Congress might do, whether willingly or otherwise, it was necessary to have much done in order to place the United States on the same footing with the European nations when competing for the trade of the south. It would not be enough to have treaties admitting our articles of product under specially favorable conditions. But it was highly important to have such means of communication as would enable the trade, once established, to be swiftly and economically carried. To this end it was deemed necessary to encourage the establishment of steamship lines, and to do that it would be necessary to grant subsidies, as foreign nations have done which seek to obtain the trade of South America. France, Germany, and England, the three great powers which are struggling for the trade of these southern countries, have

swift and effective merchant lines of steamers supported by generous subsidies. It was further proposed to connect the United States with the south by a Pan-American railroad. This road was to traverse the entire length of the South American Continent like a backbone, with branches radiating to the commercial capitals.

Yet Congress has stubbornly fought even this proposition to establish swift communication for the carrying of the trade to be developed under this new policy. The Shipping Bill was practically defeated, and it was only in the last hours of a recent Congress, in the face of fiercest fights, that a postal subsidy was carried through.

The President, under the Act approved October 1st, 1890, section 3, has the right to exempt the following articles from duty upon their importation into the United States of America: Sugar, molasses, coffee, and hides. He has also the right to leave the duty upon these articles when imported from countries which refuse to make concessions of a trade advantage.

Under the treaty, in return for the admission free into this country of sugars and molasses, coffee, and hides, Brazil agrees to admit free into her ports the following productions of this country: Wheat; wheat flour; corn or maize, and the manufactures thereof, including corn-meal and starch; rye, rye flour, buckwheat, buckwheat flour, and barley; potatoes, beans, and peas; hay and oats; pork, salted, including pickled pork and bacon, except hams; fish, salted, dried, or pickled; cotton-seed oil; coal, anthracite and bituminous; rosin, tar, pitch, and turpentine; agricultural tools, implements, and machinery; mining and mechanical tools, implements, and machinery, including stationary and portable engines, and all machinery for manufacturing and industrial purposes, except sewing-machines; instruments and books for the arts and sciences; railway-construction material and equipment.

In addition to this concession Brazil makes a reduction of

twenty-five per cent. of the duty previously charged upon the following articles: Lard, and substitutes therefor; bacon, hams; butter and cheese; canned and preserved meats, fish, fruits, and vegetables; manufactures of cotton, including cotton clothing; manufactures of iron and steel, single or mixed, not included in the foregoing free schedule; leather and manufactures thereof, except boots and shoes; lumber, timber, and the manufactures of wood, including cooperage, furniture, wagons, carts, and carriages; manufactures of rubber.

From a classified table furnished by Señor Mendonça, the Minister from Brazil to this country, it appears that the articles admitted free of duty from this country into Brazil have paid an average customs tax of \$20,003,939.76.

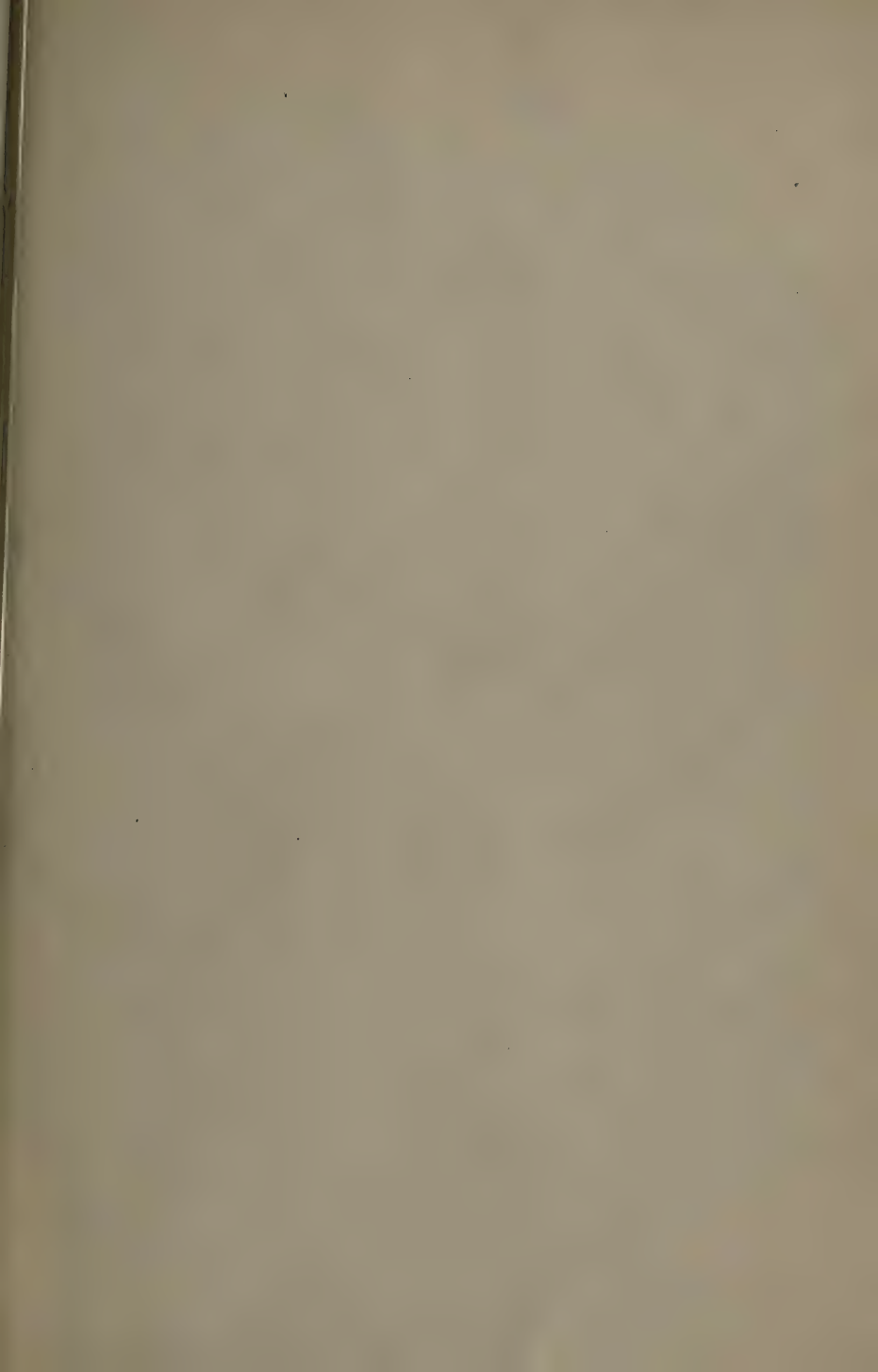
Of these articles now admitted free there have been imported into Brazil annually to the amount of \$20,000,000. Of this amount the United States has furnished something over \$3,000,000. Under the second class, upon which the duty has been reduced twenty-five per cent., the average importations into Brazil have reached the sum of \$38,631,242.70. Of these articles the United States has furnished only a small fraction of over \$2,000,000. The two schedules taken together represent an average of foreign importation into Brazil of over \$58,000,000. Of this amount the United States has furnished only about \$5,500,000. It will be seen at a glance that, if this country has the advantage of sending these articles into Brazil free of customs duty, they immediately become formidable competitors for the remaining \$53,000,000 of foreign purchase, and that with swift means of communication it will be certain to obtain the whole of it. In return for this we simply give what Congress was going to throw away, with the addition of the duty on molasses, coffee, which are not produced in this country, and hides.

Up to the present time our four largest exports in the direction of South America are breadstuffs, provisions, refined petroleum, and lumber. Of these, two of the products repre-

sent agricultural industry, and none of them represent a product of manufacturers. Of these articles the following table represents the total exported by us in 1889, and the proportion sent to Latin America :

	TOTAL EXPORTS.	EXPORTED TO LATIN AMERICA.
Breadstuffs,	\$123,876,423	\$5,123,528
Provisions,	104,122,323	2,507,375
Refined petroleum,	44,830,424	2,948,149
Wood and lumber,	26,907,161	5,039,886

The detailed story of the treaty with Brazil illustrates the nature and character of the treaties with the other countries mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. It is now believed that the near future will see our trade to the south increased by the new treaties to the amount of one hundred and fifty millions.



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